Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-88-082
Thursday
28 April 1988

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Editorial Criticizes Cadres' Moral Character

AU281111 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 24 Apr 88 p 1

[Editorial: "The Moral Worth of Cadres Is Measured by the Daily Performance of Duties"]

[Text] The moral stature of cadres rises in the eyes and awareness of the masses when they exhibit political maturity in all their social and civic activity, unswerving ideological clarity and conviction, a broad cultural, technical, and scientific education, and deep concern to put these qualities in the service of the construction and defense of socialism.

Our daily efforts to fulfill our tasks and to carry out party directives and instructions enhance the moral stature of all working people, and give this stature a broader meaning. The great projects of the 5-year period, the most difficult production fronts, and our labor in performing the most complicated tasks in science, culture, education, health, and so forth, have been true schools for forging revolutionary cadres, leavening them with the noble moral virtues of the people. The masses and working people of every sector, from brigades in agriculture and stockraising to workers in special production, cultural, or defense sectors, recognize able cadres and specialists, those who get "stuck into" a job and finish it, who put their shoulders to the wheel, who match their words with deeds, and who exhibit maturity and wisdom, strength of character and strong principles in analyzing work, solving problems, and fulfilling tasks. Let us mention just one fact: The workers of the Pogradec District Agricultural Enterprise talk of the cadres and specialists of this enterprise with love and respect, thanks to their success in developing the Karagul breed of small livestock, through improvements in husbandry. The aim of this highly successful and truly scientific project was to increase exports. But the project was completed, large investments were made (up to 10 million leks over 10 years), and nothing more was done—nothing tangible was achieved. The workers of this enterprise rightly point their fingers to some cadres of Agroexport and the Ministry of Agriculture who visited the base, left promises and their telephone numbers, but have done nothing since. Should not these cadres visit the workers again to give an account of themselves, not only because of the harm done to the economy, but because, as far as the workers and shepherds are concerned, their "fine words butter no parsnips?" This is just one instance, but other examples could be added, identical or similar in their extent and nature, just as dozens and hundreds of examples of militant attitudes adopted by cadres at the base and in the offices of central institutions could also be cited.

The daily fulfillment of tasks is not only a basic criterion of the competence of a cadre or specialist, not only a general expression of his ideological, cultural, and professional maturity, but is also a mirror of his moral worth and virtues. The Vlore fishing enterprise, despite all efforts to bring it out of its backwardness, is still working at a sluggish pace. Cadres and specialists make promises, carry out self-criticism, and take pledges, but these never become reality. Do these facts speak well of the moral worth and qualities of the cadres of this enterprise? The revolutionary cadre, equipped with lofty moral virtues, does the impossible, makes sacrifices, performs deeds of heroism, and leaves no gap between words and deeds. This is the yardstick that should be used to measure the attitudes of a cadre or specialist toward himself and his comrades, wherever he labors or manages.

The party's valuable lesson that moral stature is and will remain the basic criterion for assessing a cadre opens up great scope for all the party organizations to labor unceasingly to train cadres and specialists, increasing the help, but also the supervision, that they offer to them. People often say that fictitious reports about plan fulfillments or the fulfillment of pledges are submitted by such and such a sector or enterprise. It is generally admitted that there are also teachers who abandon their classes and leave their pupils untended, justifying this with official permission, or bogus sick notes. There have also been cases of complacency in work to build and equip cultural institutions in the countryside, and so forth. Do not such symptoms show that character defects and moral distortions exist among some cadres?

Cadres' moral character is directly tied to overcoming the difficulties that emerge in the course of daily work. It is a fact that those cadres who do not flinch when faced with problems, but courageously tackle and solve them, enjoy the great respect of the people, wherever their work may be. They do not moan that "We are missing this and that, and so we did not finish our plowing, we did not fulfill the 4-month plan, we did not keep our promise," and so forth. On the contrary, they are always on the offensive, because they are harsh opponents of easy-going work habits and complacency. Yet, unfortunately, there are also cadres who first rack their brains over how to escape problems, how to avoid self-sacrifice, and how to evade long periods of service in remote districts or backward enterprises and agricultural cooperatives where their assistance, ideas, and work are required. They simply kill time. They shut themselves up in their offices and try to ingratiate themselves with their chiefs with "Yes, sir! No, sir!" and "Your instruction will be carried out at once!," but in reality they deal with trifles and do not tackle the main problems of daily life. As the saying goes, "They cannot even pick a hair out of a bowl of porridge." In such cases, the mistake is twofold, both on the part of those who think that servility toward superiors is the proper thing, and on the part of those in positions of authority who see nothing wrong with such obsequiousness. Courageous, communist managers should tell them, "That is enough talk. Roll your sleeves up, and let us go together where we are needed, and where the work is." There are plenty of examples of such people throughout the country, in every field. These are the standard-bearers of our people's intelligentsia,

absorbed body and soul in the great problems of the day and our country's development in the future. These are truly revolutionary cadres which the party and people have raised.

The party teaches us that dedicated cadres never reconcile themselves to privileges, back-scratching, interventions, and unprincipled attitudes. Cases noticed here and there, in which a cadre allows himself privileges by mutual arrangement with people of warped character, or where he intervenes to secure privileges for his friends and relations, must be strongly condemned and caught in the vise of public opinion which, as ever, will demand that they render an account of themselves, and will put them back on the right road. The people love cadres of crystal-clear purity. Often a limited viewpoint only notices such symptoms among cadres or sectors dealing directly with services to the people, such as the retail sector, housing, and education, which fulfill people's daily needs. It is true that the party must always be on the offensive in its work in these fields, in order to prevent the appearance of any alien symptom. But alien symptoms are also evident in other sectors. Vigilance must therefore extend everywhere at all times. Similarly, supervision must extend everywhere and over everyone. Every cadre, whatever his job, must render an account of himself to the party organization and the masses, not merely covering the performance of his duties, but the purity of his moral character. The party teaches us that only good can come from such accountability. The masses have always helped cadres to honorably perform the duties with which the party entrusts them. The masses have always helped cadres to maintain the purity of their moral character, to develop the fine qualities which the people have implanted in them, and to affirm their personalities as communists, managers, and militant citizens.

Leaders Attend Oil Plant Inauguration

AU271732 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian 1430 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Correspondent's report on inauguration of lubricating oil plant at the Ballsh Oil Refinery, Fier District, on 27 April—recorded]

[Excerpts] Today, on the threshold of the May Day celebrations and in the year of the 80th anniversary of the birth of our dear leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, the completion of the construction and the commissioning of the lubricating oil plant, one of the most important projects of the 5-Year Plan, is being marked at the Ballsh Oil Refinery in Fier District, with an inauguration ceremony. [passage omitted]

Thousands of people from the city of Ballsh, cooperativists from the Mallakaster region, construction and installation workers, and specialists, young people, and Enver's Pioneers have gathered at the entrance to the city of Ballsh, awaiting the arrival of Comrade Adil Carcani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and chairman of the Council of Ministers; Comrade Hajredin Celiku, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and secretary; Comrade Hekuran Isai, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Niko Gjyzari, chairman of the State Planning Commission; Minister of Energy Lavdosh Ahmetaj; Halil Hasko, Fier District AWP Committee first secretary; Dhimiter Brisku, Fier District People's Council Executive Committee chairman, and other comrades.

Nase Petro , the director of the oil refinery opened the rally. [acclamations, shouts of "party, Enver—we are always ready"]

Minister of Energy Lavdosh Ahmetaj delivered a speech on the occasion. After conveying greetings and congratulations in the name of the AWP Central Committee and of the Council of Ministers, he stated that on the threshold of the May Day celebrations, the workers class is inaugurating a project which bears the hallmark of its heroic efforts, which strengthens the economy as a whole, and the oil processing industry in particular. The new plant is a project of considerable political and economic importance and a reflection of the consistent implementation of the principle of self-reliance, which has been and remains at the basis of the policy of our party and of our socialist society. [passage omitted]

Congratulating those present on this joyful occasion, Comrade Adil Carcani said: [begin Carcani recording] I bring you the best wishes and congratulations of Comrade Ramiz Alia, and best wishes for even greater successes in the future, in all fields: in industry, agriculture, the livestock sector, and in the entire economic and sociocultural activity of your district and of the country as a whole. [applause] Long may you live and may you always inaugurate more and more projects of this kind. [applause] Long live the party. Long live the beloved leader of the party and of the people, Comrade Ramiz Alia. Long live our brave and heroic people. [applause and hurrahs; shouts of "party, Enver—we are always ready"] Long live the people of Mallakaster and of Fier District. Glory to our heroic workers class. Glory to the immortal deed of Comrade Enver Hoxha. [hurrahs] [end recording]

Decision on Intellectual Restructuring Adopted

AU281059 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 27 Apr 88 p 1

["Decision of the BCP Central Committee Politburo on Accelerating Restructuring of the Intellectual Sphere," adopted on 27 March]

[Text] The BCP Central Committee Politburo has discussed in detail and unanimously approved the Reflections of Comrade Todor Zhivkov on Some Issues and Tasks Related to Restructuring the Intellectual Sphere.

Many measures have been adopted in this area while implementing the course of a qualitatively new growth following the 13th BCP Congress. The BCP Central Committee and the Council of Ministers are preparing documents on restructuring the organization and management of scientific activity, the arts, and education. Notwithstanding this fact some problems have arisen that must be articulated now, and then solved.

The Politburo expresses its complete support for the assessment and reflections on the place and role of the intelligentsia in implementing the June Concept on further constructing socialism in Bulgaria, and for the measures that have been adopted to improve work with intellectual figures and organizations. Expressing respect for and recognition of the selfless work of scientists, artists, engineers, teachers, physicians, journalists, and so forth, the party will intensify the care it takes to ensure the comprehensive upsurge and development of intellectual life and the expansion of the nation's intellectual wealth.

The following postulates are of exceptional importance:

—on the basic trends in restructuring intellectual life and creating, together with the intelligentsia, conditions for the intelligentsia to play an active part in the revolutionary restructuring of our society;

—on the correct political assessment of the profound processes taking place within the intelligentsia which lead to the formation of new socialist values and criteria for creating and evaluating intellectual output;

—on the weaknesses and shortcomings in the work of some party, state, and public organs, as a result of which certain unfavorable phenomena appeared in individual sectors of intellectual life in the early eighties.

The decisive thing now is to mobilize the forces of the entire intelligentsia under the leadership of the party in order to bring about restructuring in the intellectual sphere in accordance with the principles of the June Concept and the specific characteristics of this sphere. The discussion taking place in the scientific, artistic, educational, and other organizations show the readiness of our intelligentsia to be in the forefront of restructuring.

The political, ideological, and organizational work among all the units of the intelligentsia must be conducted in the spirit of the April principles and approaches and the April attention and confidence regarding both the issues that concern these figures and the pressing problems that must be solved.

In this connection the Politburo considers it necessary:

1. For the preparation of the documents on restructuring the intellectual sphere to be accelerated, and a plenum of the BCP Central Committee to be held in May 1988.

The preparation of the plenum must become a special kind of referendum and the people of the intellectual sphere must be broadly drawn into the discussion of the issues.

2. For the BCP Central Committee Secretariat to adopt practical measures on sharply improving political and ideological work in the intellectual sphere, in order to increase the combat ability of the party organizations and elevate the vanguard role of the Communists.

3. For the pressing social and everyday problems to be solved in accordance with the preconditions that have been created, specifically problems connected with remuneration for intellectual work and the housing needs of the young scientific and creative cadres.

4. For party meetings to be held in the scientific and artistic organizations, as well as in the mass media, at which the Communists are to be acquainted with Comrade Todor Zhivkov's reflections and this decision. Representatives of the party and state leadership and responsible associates of the BCP Central Committee must participate in these meetings.

The BCP Central Committee Politburo expresses its confidence that the people involved in Bulgarian science, culture, and education will work for the restructuring of the intellectual sphere with a high-minded sense of responsibility to the people and the party.

The implementation of the party's June Concept in the intellectual sphere of society must be a primary cause of the Bulgarian intelligentsia and encourage its creative drive and ability.

(Approved by the BCP Central Committee Politburo with protocol No 41 on 27 March 1988)

Daily Comments, Invites Letters

AU270956 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 25 Apr 88 p 1

[Editorial: "Cause of the Party—Cause of the People"—boldface passages as published]

[Text] **The Politburo of the BCP Central Committee recently adopted a decision to hold a BCP Central Committee plenum, devoted to restructuring in the intellectual**

sphere, and scheduled to take place in May 1988. The preparation for this plenum should be transformed into a specific referendum extensively involving the workers of the intellectual sphere in discussions on these questions.

There is no doubt whatsoever that this plenum will play a particularly important role in the life of the party and people. Its significance is determined by the fact that it will comprehensively, fully, and thoroughly discuss the state of the intellectual sphere and outline the basic trends for the decisive restructuring of this sphere, as well as map out specific methods for implementing the July plenum concept among the workers, organizations, and institutions engaged in this sphere of our life. For the thousands of scientific workers, creative artists, journalists, members of ideological and cultural institutions, and for our entire party the decisions of this forthcoming plenum will further clarify and consolidate their tasks and will be a powerful incentive for innovation in the spirit of the high criteria set forth by the BCP Central Committee July and November plenums, as well as by the BCP National Conference.

This, however, does not exhaust the importance of the forthcoming party forum. The comprehensive restructuring process in our society, pertaining to the economy, social activities, management, and style of work; the consolidation of self-management as the chief principle of our multifarious activities; the involvement of millions of people in the innovative processes—all this cannot be implemented without the active application of the ideological factor. Because, as we have known since ancient times, something must change in the people's minds for their work to improve. People must become aware of the meaning of this cause, they must understand their own interest in it, they must become aware of the new role assigned to them, they must think about what the placing of objects of socialist property under the management and administration of labor collectives, for example, means to them personally, and what new responsibilities await them in assuming this new power, and so forth. They must do all these things to be able, with selfless devotion, goodwill, and concern, to engage conscientiously in the solution of the great and new tasks of restructuring. Can anyone, under these circumstances, imagine that all this could be achieved without renewing the topics, the scope, and social effectiveness of intellectual work? How could all this be achieved without theoretical developments and practical experience, without the strength of the writer's and journalist's word and analysis, without the example of the artistic image, without the contribution of numerous cultural institutions, and without the assets of cultural-mass work?

As a result of all this, we can also say that from the perspectives of the situation of our artistic and scientific intelligentsia, the global needs of society in this period of change, and the individual, the forthcoming BCP Central Committee plenum will be an event of exceptional importance. It is no exaggeration to say that the decisions and projects it maps out will be of decisive importance for many years to come.

The preparations and the proceedings of the forthcoming plenum are taking place under the circumstances of our first steps toward the implementation of the party's July plenum concept of the further construction of socialism in the People's Republic of Bulgaria. This, besides all other things, signifies and requires a democratic, public, and open approach to existing problems. As was unmistakably stressed in the decision of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, an extensive and thorough discussion with the participation of the workers in the intellectual sphere should be implemented, and the mass media should hold a special referendum.

The daily RABOTNICHESKO DELO responds to this party assignment and to this social requirement.

As of today the pages of the central party organ are widely opened to a comprehensive discussion on the problems of our intellectual development and to the search for new methods and means in implementing the longed-for innovation in this sphere of our life.

The editorial collective expects the most competent and outstanding specialists in the respective branches to take the floor and to deal with the key problems of our intellectual development in a forceful, open, and constructive manner. The creators of scientific and artistic values, the propagators of these values as well as their "consumers," must be given the floor. The chief goal, in the long run, depends on these three factors: how the results of intellectual work are created, how they are made accessible to the knowledge and awareness of millions of people, and how the people accept and evaluate them.

The range of problems that currently concern the scientific, artistic, and creative intelligentsia in Bulgaria is immense:

—The role and contribution of the social sciences—are they responding to the needs of the time?

—What sort of atmosphere exists in the creative unions, scientific organizations, and institutes; what should be undertaken in order to eliminate manifestations of monopolization, lack of democracy, and the utilization of a strong official position by certain people for selfish aims?

—What must be done to guarantee the socially just principle that everyone is to receive his remuneration not simply because he is on the payroll, but because he carries out a clearly defined activity at a defined level of quality and with a defined social effect?

—How are the teaching and study of the ideological disciplines to be changed—both among the students and in political instruction—while keeping track of how well people are informed by the exclusive dissemination of news by the press, television, and radio?

—How are things to be reorganized so that circulation figures, assessments, and fees depend on the interest and attitude of the people toward scientific and artistic works?

—What should be the substantially new features in the organization and leadership of intellectual life? How are management methods of issuing orders from above to be eliminated, and what highly democratic means are to replace them? How is one to ensure universal control by the people in this respect?

—What is lacking in the standard of public discussions and polemics? Why is the state of scientific and artistic criticism not satisfactory? Why do partiality and outright bias often displace principled discussions?

—What will be done to ensure that every primary party organization in the intellectual sphere fulfills its vanguard role in a powerful, convincing, and most effective manner?

There are so many questions.... These questions await an answer.

In opening wide its pages for discussion before the BCP Central Committee plenum, the newspaper's editorial board expects a lively response from its readers. Of course, the discussion cannot fail to take into account, with feelings of pride and joy, the achievements of our intellectual sector during the years of socialist construction, especially after the April 1956 plenum of the BCP Central Committee. The construction of a solid material-technical base, the consolidation of the creative unions and organizations and the means for creating and disseminating intellectual values, and the correct party policy for rallying all the cadres in this sphere around the platform of socialism have all been very important factors for what has been achieved. The recent decree of the Council of Ministers and the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions on increasing salaries is a new, vivid display of concern and an expression of the party's confidence in and high assessment of the workers in science, culture, and the mass media.

When we are justifiably strict and critical regarding weaknesses, let us use the most realistic, correct tone for our assessments. Glasnost means and demands that we tell the truth as it is, and that we do not permit the violation of objectivity or of an honest, fair approach when analyzing facts, phenomena, and trends.

RABOTNICHESKO DELO awaits your views, esteemed readers. It is waiting for your assessments and thoughts, ideas and proposals. With the efforts of the most competent specialists and the widest range of citizens, united by a common concern for restructuring in the intellectual sphere as a cause of the party and people, it is waiting to assist the work of the forthcoming party plenum.

All this should be done so that after the plenum, armed with its decisions, we can continue to renew more successfully all sectors of the intellectual sphere.

All this should be done so that after the plenum, armed with its decisions, we can work even more effectively for the good of our native land and for the implementation of the July Concept of the Bulgarian Communist Party.

[The following text is boxed in within the text of the editorial]

Dear readers,

We await your observations, proposals, critical notes, and shared experiences on the chief issues of restructuring in the intellectual sphere. We invite you to take part in the following:

Poll:

—What would you say if you were taking part in the plenum of the BCP Central Committee?

Journalistic Research:

—What is intellectual life in the municipality like? What are the roles of the primary party organizations and the Communists in the intellectual sphere?

Discussions.

Inspections:

—In your area, what specifically might hinder the restructuring in this exceptionally important field of social life?

Communicate your questions, warnings, and opinions to us on telephone numbers 14-28-88 or 43-431, extension 487, from 1400 through 2000 hours.

We await your letters, addressed to: Sofia-1000, Boulevard V.I. Lenin 47. [End of boxed item]

Zhivkov, Dzhurov Attend BCP Army Meeting

AU261856 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1730 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] The 16th BCP General Army BCP Conference took place in Sofia. Taking part in the conference were Comrade Todor Zhivkov; Army General Dobri Dzhurov, minister of national defense; Colonel General Velko

Palin, chief of the Social and National Security Department of the BCP Central Committee; and Colonel General Aleksandr Zvartsev, representative of the commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces with the Bulgarian People's Army.

Col Gen Velko Palin, chief of the Main Political Administration of the Bulgarian People's Army, made a speech.

It was stressed at the conference that the restructuring which our society is carrying out also concerns life in the Bulgarian People's Army and that the Communists are at the head of the restructuring under way in the Army. The Communists and soldiers of the Bulgarian People's Army are working to put into practice the decisions of the July 1987 BCP Central Committee Plenum and the BCP National Conference concerning an in-depth, comprehensive restructuring of our entire life.

In their speeches, the delegates and guests at the conference examined topical questions relating to implementing the party policy in the Bulgarian People's Army.

Welcomed with exceptional cordiality, Comrade Todor Zhivkov greeted the participants in the conference. He spoke on certain issues concerning the international and internal situation.

Foreign Minister Departs for Poland 28 April

AU280749 Sofia BTA in English
0708 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Sofia, April 27 (BTA)—At the invitation of Mr Marian Orzechowski, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party and minister of foreign affairs of Poland, Mr Petur Mladenov, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party and minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria, left on an official friendly visit to Poland today.

Afghanistan's April Revolution Commemorated

Balev Received in Kabul

AU271559 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
1500 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] In Kabul, Najibullah, the Afghan leader, received Comrade Milko Balev, who is heading the Bulgarian delegation taking part in the celebrations of the 10th anniversary of the April Revolution.

During the conversation the solidarity of the BCP and Bulgaria with the national reconciliation policy in Afghanistan was expressed, and the mutual desire for the further development of bilateral relations was confirmed.

Milko Balev was also received by Sultan 'Ali Keshtmand, prime minister of Afghanistan. They discussed the present state of and further opportunities for Bulgarian-Afghan relations.

Meeting Held in Sofia

AU271852 Sofia BTA in English
1755 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Sofia, April 27 (BTA)—On the occasion of the tenth anniversary of the victory of the April Revolution in Afghanistan a ceremonial meeting was held here at which the Bulgarian public once again expressed its support for the policy of national reconciliation, for the peace-loving and constructive foreign policy course of that country.

During the past ten years Bulgaria has most actively supported and will continue to support the revolutionary achievements of the Republic of Afghanistan. We firmly believe that the just cause in whose name the April Revolution was carried out will triumph, said Mr Krustyu Trichkov, first deputy chairman of the National Council of the Fatherland Front.

He emphasised that the policy of national reconciliation has been expression of the strength and maturity of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, of its responsibility before the present and future generations.

We greet the agreements signed on April 14 this year in Geneva, which are the first concrete result of the implementation of the new political thinking in connection with regional conflicts, stressed the speaker.

Noting that Bulgaria has been the second country, after the USSR which has recognized Afghanistan, he dwelled on the Bulgaro-Afghan relations built on the basis of the Agreement for Friendship and Cooperation signed in 1981.

It was pointed out that the cooperation between the two countries in all spheres is broadening and deepening.

[Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian at 1730 GMT on 27 April, in a report on the same public meeting, adds the following: "The meeting was attended by Vasil Tsanov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee; leaders of sociopolitical and mass organizations; and many citizens."]

Leaders Greet Afghan Counterparts

AU280955 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 27 Apr 88 p 8

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and State Council chairman, and Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, have sent the following message to Najibullah, general secretary of the Central Committee of the People's

Democratic Party of Afghanistan and president of the Republic of Afghanistan, and Sultan 'Ali Keshtmand, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Afghanistan:

Dear Comrades,

On behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Bulgarian people, and on our personal behalf we send the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the Council of Ministers of the Republic of Afghanistan, the friendly Afghan people, and you personally most cordial greetings on the 10th anniversary of the victory of the April Revolution in Afghanistan.

The April 1978 Revolution, conducted under the leadership of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, marked the beginning of deep transformations in Afghan society in the name of democracy and social progress. Under the conditions of the undeclared war the Afghan people conducted a heroic struggle to defend their right to determine the destiny of their homeland.

The People's Republic of Bulgaria totally supports the policy of national reconciliation and the peaceful and constructive foreign policy course of the Republic of Afghanistan, and highly assesses the Geneva accords, signed on 14 April 1988, which created an international legal basis of stopping the interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs, and establishing peace, security, and good neighborliness in the region.

We express fraternal solidarity with the Republic of Afghanistan, as well as our confidence that relations of friendship and comprehensive cooperation between our parties and countries will further develop in the interest of the two peoples, peace, and international cooperation.

Army Staff Chief Semerdzhiev Visits Athens

AU271857 Sofia BTA in English
1723 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Athens, April 27 (BTA corr.)—At the invitation of Colonel General Nikolaos Kouris, chief of the General Staff of the National Defence of Greece, a Bulgarian military delegation arrived here today, headed by Col Gen Atanas Semerdzhiev, first deputy minister of National Defence and chief of the General Staff of the Bulgarian People's Army.

Later Mr Ioannis Kharalambopoulos, deputy premier and minister of national defence of Greece, received the Bulgarian guest.

In a friendly atmosphere the two sides discussed questions of the further development of the Bulgaro-Greek relations in all spheres in interest of the two peoples and of peace and stability in the Balkans.

A meeting between Col Gen Atanas Semerdzhiev and Col Gen Nikolaos Kouris was also held.

The two sides discussed the further widening of the bilateral relations in the spirit of the declaration of friendship, good-neighbourliness and cooperation between Bulgaria and Greece, signed in September 1986 by Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Andreas Papandreou.

Briefs

Cooperation Program With Denmark

Sofia, April 27 (BTA)—A programme for cooperation in the sphere of culture, science and education was signed here today between the Governments of Bulgaria and Denmark for the next three years. During the previous three-year period the public in the two countries was acquainted with the achievements in the sphere of cinema, the contacts between the Bulgarian cinematography and the Danish Film Institute were enhanced, and the mutual interest in the different spheres of culture was also increased. The new programme envisages organization of events which correspond more fully to this interest. A Bulgarian art exhibition will be held in Copenhagen in answer to the Danish exhibition held here two years ago. The Plovdiv Opera will give several performances in Denmark. Danish guests will participate in the "Sofia Musical Weeks", "Varna Summer", in the International Book Fair in Sofia, the International "Banner of Peace" Children's Assembly, etc. The exchange in the sphere of education and scientific research will also be encouraged. [Text] [*AU271359 Sofia BTA in English 1247 GMT 27 Apr 88*]

Jakes Returns From Official Visit to Romania

LD272213 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1900 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Excerpt] Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, returned early this evening from his friendly working visit to the SR of Romania, which took place at the invitation of President Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP.

Comrade Milos Jakes was welcomed at Ruzyne Airport by Ladislav Adamec and Vasil Bilak, members of the Presidium of the party Central Committee. [passage omitted]

Janku Sees Results in Vatican Talks

LD271745 Prague CTK in English 1432 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Prague April 27 (CTK)—Czechoslovakia's official stand expressing approval of the appointment of two auxiliary bishops for Prague and a bishop-apostolic administrator for Trnava has lately been presented to the Vatican Secretary of State Cardinal Agostino Casaroli, director of the Government Secretariat for Ecclesiastical Affairs Vladimir Janku told CTK today.

Vladimir Janku was heading a Czechoslovak Government delegation to the latest talks in the Vatican which took place on April 11-15.

He stressed that some Western media spread completely distorted reports claiming that the talks between Czechoslovak and Vatican delegations failed to yield any result and even refer, as e.g. the French News Agency AFP, to the pope.

However, the endorsement of the appointments means that "certain results were attained although (the talks) did not meet our expectations and readiness for broader agreements as our government, the Roman Catholic Church and believers desired them," Vladimir Janku said.

"During the talks (in the Vatican) we turned the attention of our partners and other high Vatican officials to the fact that some circles in the West and some individuals in Czechoslovakia refer to the stands of the Vatican in their attempts to abuse religion for solely political aims directed against our socialist homeland and its integrity. We were assured by top representatives that the Holy See dissociates itself from these forces and on the contrary, wants to see the church in Czechoslovakia fully fitting into its system—the system chosen by the Czechoslovak people, that it wishes such bishops who would guarantee good, orderly relations between the church and the state," Vladimir Janku said and added that "this stand has been positively received in Czechoslovakia with expectations that it will be implemented in practice."

Speaking of prospects of the further process, Vladimir Janku said that "the Czechoslovak stand obviously creates good conditions for a constructive solution of open questions. If there is a real goodwill on both sides, the future talks could bring further results."

Malinowski, Polish Sejm Delegation Visit

Award CPCZ's Indra

LD271728 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1200 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Roman Malinowski, speaker of the Polish Sejm, today in Prague presented Alois Indra, member of the Presidium of the CPCZ Central Committee and chairman of the Federal Assembly, with the Polish Order of Merit with Grand Ribbon. The Polish state Council awarded him the great honor as an appreciation of the significant contributions that he has made in parliamentary and socio-political activity and for his great imput and contribution to the strengthening of friendship and cooperation between the two countries.

Roman Malinowski pointed out that Czechoslovakia and Poland are linked not only by rich historical traditions but also by their efforts for extensive changes in society.

Giving thanks, Alois Indra emphasized the efforts to carry out restructuring, economic reforms, and deepening of socialist democracy in both countries.

The ceremony was attended by Comrades Vasil Bilak, Jozef Lenart, Frantisek Pitra, Miroslav Stepan, and others.

PAP Report

LD280337 Warsaw PAP in English 1910 GMT 27 Apr 88

[By PAP correspondent Leszek Mazan]

[Text] Prague, April 27—Visiting Poland's Sejm speaker, Chairman of the United Peasant Party CC Roman Malinowski decorated here today member of the Presidium of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia CC, Chairman of the Czechoslovakia's Federal Assembly Alois Indra with the great ribbon of the order of merit of the Polish People's Republic.

With this high distinction, Poland's Council of State honored an outstanding contribution of this politician, parliamentary and social activist in the development and consolidation of contacts between the nations of Poland and Czechoslovakia.

The ceremony at the Polish Embassy here was attended by members of the supreme party authorities led by Presidium members and CC Secretaries Vasil Bilak and Jozef Lenart.

Also today, Malinowski was received at the Prague Castle by President of the Republic Gustav Husak. Present was Chairman of the Federal Assembly Alois Indra.

In a friendly conversation, the sides exchanged information concerning the comprehensive socio-economic restructuring underway in both countries and outcomes of efforts for the deepening of democracy.

Malinowski Meets Husak

LD271931 Prague CTK in English
1620 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Prague April 27 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak received here today Marshal of the Polish Sejm (parliament) Roman Malinowski.

They informed each other of the course of restructuring of society, introduction of economic reforms and the development of socialist democracy in the two countries.

Gustav Husak and Roman Malinowski stated with satisfaction that Czechoslovak-Polish relations have reached a high level and create a good basis for their all-round extension in all spheres. They stressed advantageousness of regular contacts of representatives of legislative bodies and the significance of seeking new forms of their cooperation.

Chnoupek Conveys Jakes Message to Mubarak

LD272022 Prague CTK in English
1834 GMT 27 Apr 88

[By the CTK correspondent]

[Text] Cairo April 27 (CTK)—Czechoslovak Foreign Minister Bohuslav Chnoupek handed over a message from Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes to Egyptian President Husni Mubarak today.

The message appreciates the favorable reception in Egypt of the Czechoslovak initiative to create a zone of confidence, cooperation and good neighborly relations between the Warsaw Treaty and NATO.

"We are convinced that implementation of the proposal would be a constructive contribution to the consolidation of peace and security in Europe and would favourably influence also the situation in other parts of the world," the message said.

It described it as very important to extend the process of political and military relaxation, disarmament and cooperation, which is gaining ground in Europe, to the Mediterranean and the Middle East. These regions are linked with Europe by many ties of mutual dependence. We fully agree with the idea that security in Europe is inseparable from security in the Medterranean, Milos Jakes stressed in the message.

He noted that in the Middle East, no major breakthrough can be attained in the solution of the crisis without new approaches which begin to gain ground in international relations. We are convinced that the process of relaxation and disarmament, which is now apparent in Soviet-U.S. relations and in Europe, will increasingly influence a Middle East peace settlement and will gradually help overcome accumulated hostility.

Egyptian President Husni Mubarak thanked for the message and stressed the importance and usefulness of political dialogue on all key issues of the present as well as the necessity to do everything for the preservation of world peace, solution of regional and other acute problems and for the establishment of confidence, cooperation and friendship in relations between states and nations.

Both sides pointed out the long-standing tradition of Czechoslovak-Egyptian relations and their recent reinvigoration.

The Egyptian president invited Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes and President Gustav Husak to visit Egypt.

In a friendly discussion with Bohuslav Chnoupek later today, Egyptian Premier 'Atif Sidqi described the visit of the Czechoslovak foreign minister as a new important impulse to the further development of political, economic and cultural relations between Czechoslovakia and Egypt and to the promotion of traditional friendship between the peoples of both countries.

They agreed that considerable openings exist to constantly expand mutually beneficial economic, scientific and technological cooperation, and exchanged information on economic reforms and the ways to increase the efficiency of the national economies of the two countries.

The Egyptian premier was interested in experiences gained in the restructuring of the economic mechanism in Czechoslovakia, especially the changeover to a two-level system of management, and said that Egypt too would have to solve many similar problems.

He reiterated an invitation to Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal to pay an official friendly visit to Egypt.

Bohuslav Chnoupek arrived in Cairo on Tuesday.

Soviet Envoy Awards Defense Ministry Officials

LD201933 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak
1500 GMT 20 Apr 88

[Text] Viktor Lomakin, ambassador of the USSR to Czechoslovakia, presented in Prague today to the chief officials of the Federal Ministry of National Defense, the Union for Cooperation with the Army, and the headquarters of the People's Militia of the Czechoslovak SR

medals called 70 Years of the Armed Forces of the USSR. At the same time, he thanked the Czechoslovak generals and officials for the effort they are exerting to strengthen fraternal cooperation and friendship between members of the two countries' armies and conveyed to them personal greetings from Soviet Defense Minister, Army General Dmitriy Yazov.

Olympics in Seoul 'Politically Wrong'

LD191638 Prague CTK in English
1529 GMT 13 Apr 88

[Excerpt] Prague April 13 (CTK)—Jindrich Polednik was unanimously elected chairman of the Czechoslovak Physical Training Union (CSTV) at a session of its Central Committee here today.

Polednik, secretariat member of the Communist Party Central Committee, was also elected member of the Presidium and the Secretariat of the CSTV Central Committee.

Previous CSTV Chairman Antonin Himl died last January 27.

CSTV Deputy Chairman Pavel Klapus said at the session that Czechoslovakia, just as other socialist countries, regards the selection of Seoul as the venue for the summer Olympics as politically wrong. An acceptable solution to the problems involved has not yet been found. The CSTV and the Czechoslovak Olympic Committee consider the need to strengthen the peace-promoting and integrating character of sports and the Olympic movement as decisive, a refusal to attend would result in isolation and the loss of positions.

The organizers in Seoul are prepared at the required level technically and organizationally, uncertainty is aroused by the unstable and explosive political situation in the country.

Some 150-180 Czechoslovak athletes are expected to compete in 16 to 19 sports branches in Seoul, Klapus said. [passage omitted]

Greek CP Delegation Departs 27 Apr

LD280343 Prague CTK in English
1948 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Prague April 27 (CTK)—A delegation of the Communist Party of Greece headed by its general secretary Kharilaos Florakis left here today.

The delegation was in Czechoslovakia on a friendly working visit.

Bilak Receives Visiting Swiss Communist

LD202051 Prague CTK in English
1745 GMT 20 Apr 88

[Text] Prague April 20 (CTK)—Member of the Presidium and secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Vasil Bilak held talks here today with visiting General Secretary of the Swiss Workers Party Jean Spielmann.

They dealt with the current situation in the international communist movement and the development of cooperation between the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the Swiss Workers Party. They agreed on a regular exchange of views between the two parties in the interest of their joint struggle for peace, disarmament and social progress.

Portuguese TU Group Concludes Agreement

LD191650 Prague CTK in English
1548 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Prague April 19 (CTK)—The first visit of top representatives of Portuguese trade unions to Czechoslovakia will wind up this evening by the signing of a final document on further cooperation with the Czechoslovak trade unions.

The prepared document will start a new chapter of concrete cooperation between the Czechoslovak revolutionary trade union movement and the General Confederation of Portuguese Workers (CGTP-IN).

Coordinator of the CGTP-IN Executive Commission Manuel Carvalho da Silva told a news conference here today the Portuguese representatives appreciated the successes achieved by the Czechoslovak working people in benefiting from the advantages of socialism and the trade unions' interest in raising the share of the working people in the management of society. "We have agreed with the representatives of the Central Council of Trade Unions on problems of all working people of the world for the solution of which we have been waging a joint struggle. A new plan on cooperation will enable us to further expand our multilateral cooperation at all levels and to intensify discussions on all important issues", he said. In this connection he condemned the stand of the European Trade Union Confederation which criticizes the CGTP-IN for maintaining contacts with trade unions in the socialist countries. "It is paradoxical that these stands are voiced today when trade unionists in countries of both social systems have so much in common—the struggle for peace, rights of the working people and democratization of society, for the implementation of the achievements of science and technology and for environmental protection. It is regrettable that a considerably greater success has been achieved in the political and even military fields than in the sphere of cooperation of trade union organizations", he added.

The Portuguese representative also informed journalists of the position of Portuguese trade unions in the present difficult situation caused by the growth of influence of the Portuguese rightist forces. He said that Portugal's entry into EEC is one of the causes of the sharpening economic problems of the country and added that the rightist forces urged the entry to increase Portugal's dependence on foreign monopolies. He stressed that the aim of the CGTP-IN is to protect against the rightist forces, the achievements which have already been reached and which are not common in other capitalist countries, and to protect the interests of the working people within the EEC.

Pugwash Symposium Discusses Nuclear-Free Zone
AU211735 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
18 Apr 88 p 1

[CTK report: "The Prague Symposium of the Pugwash Movement Concluded"]

[Excerpts] Prague—A symposium of the Pugwash Movement—already the 50th—ended in Prague on Sunday [17 April]. [passage omitted]

The symposium discussed, among other things, issues connected with a zone free of nuclear weapons. One of the views heard was that, from the military point of view, such a 100-300 km zone is not of too great importance. However, the overwhelming majority of scientists think that precisely such a course would contribute to a better understanding and would be a step toward a further limitation of the arms buildup. After all, it is precisely Europe which is literally a stockpile of various weapons.

When the scientists discussed chemical weapons, they sharply condemned their deployment in the Iraq-Iran war near the city of Halabjah last March and April.

Delegation Meets With Husak
LD190453 Prague CTK in English
2000 GMT 18 Apr 88

[Text] Prague April 18 (CTK)—Czechoslovak President Gustav Husak received here Monday a delegation of the Pugwash Movement, led by Professor John P. Holdren, chairman of the Pugwash Movement Executive Committee and chairman of the Federation of U.S. Scientists.

John P. Holdren appreciated the role of Czechoslovak scientists in the movement and in organizing the symposium held here on April 14-17, which contributed to the unification of a number of views on the solution of military and non-military aspects of peaceful cooperation in Europe. He thanked for the opportunity to hold a two-day session of the Pugwash Council in Czechoslovakia, which is taking place here these days.

In a friendly discussion, attended by Dorothy Hodgkin, Martin M. Kaplan, Joseph Rotblat and Maciej Nalecz, the two sides stressed the permanent significance of the idea of the first Pugwash Conference held 31 years ago on the initiative of Albert Einstein's and Bertrand Russell's manifesto calling for a ban on nuclear arms, a halt to the arms race and establishment of permanent peace in the world.

Gustav Husak highly appreciated the devoted activities of the Pugwash conferences on science and world affairs which have acquired great authority in the world.

He stressed that the preservation of peace under present conditions is a needful prerequisite for the existence itself, and for further development of civilization. This need is particularly strong in Czechoslovkaia, laying on the line dividing two military alliances. That is also why the efforts of the Czechoslovak people are permanently directed to the support of the Soviet peace proposals and the initiatives of other socialist countries striving for peaceful coexistence and the development of mutually advantageous cooperation among nations, and thus for detente in Europe and the whole world. This is also the aim of all Czechoslovak initiatives, Gustav Husak pointed out.

Jakes, Husak Greet Syria on National Day
AU192005 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
16 Apr 88 p 1

[CTK Report]

[Text] Prague—Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and CSSR President Gustav Husak have sent a telegram to Hafiz al-Asad, general secretary of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party and president of the Syrian Arab Republic, congratulating him on the National Day of the Syrian Arab Republic.

The telegram appreciates the selfless work of the people of the Syrian Arab Republic, as well as the results that they have achieved under the leadership of the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party in the construction of their fatherland. It stresses the full solidarity with and support for the efforts of the Syrian people in the cooperation with the progressive forces of the Arab countries in the struggle against the aggressive policy of imperialism, Zionism, and international reaction, and for a just settlement of the crisis in the Middle East and of the Palestinian question.

It expresses the conviction that the traditional ties of friendship and extensive mutual cooperation between the CSSR and the Syrian Arab Republic will continue to develop successfully in the interest of the people of the two countries, in the interest of the cause of peace and progress in the world.

Dissident Pavel Wonka Dies in Prison
AU271426 Paris AFP in English
1425 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Prague, April 27 (AFP)—Leading Czech dissident Pavel Wonka, 35, has died in prison shortly after his re-arrest on incitement to rebellion charges, a human rights official said Wednesday.

A spokesman for the human rights monitoring group Charter 77, said the circumstances of Mr. Wonka's death were unclear.

The spokesman said that Mr. Wonka died Tuesday in the Hradec Kralove prison, 100 kilometres (70 miles) east of here.

Mr. Wonker was re-arrested on April 5 on charges of violating his parole conditions. He had been freed in February after spending 21 months in jail on incitement to rebellion charges.

Husak Addresses Bratislava-4 Party Conference
AU271253 Bratislava VECERNIK in Slovak
25 Apr 88 pp 1,6

[Report on a speech by Gustav Husak, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and CSSR President, at the CPSL Municipal District Conference in Bratislava-4, held in Bratislava on 23-24 April: "Consistently Along the Path of Restructuring"]

[Text] By way of introduction Gustav Husak conveyed to the participants in the conference cordial greetings from Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, wished the conference a successful course, and expressed thanks for the successful work of Communists and other citizens of the municipal district. He voiced the conviction that those places that have not managed to fulfill their tasks should not just refer to objective causes, but should also find solutions.

He went on to speak in greater detail about the restructuring of the economic mechanism, its causes and problems. When we speak about the restructuring of our economy, this does not mean that we ignore the great, previous work carried out by our people. The CSSR is a mature, developed, and culturally advanced state. We have no reason to be ashamed, to hide our light under a bushel. However, the world has not remained stagnant and we are now called upon to catch up with it in every specific sector of work where we have fallen behind. Our restructuring is the most revolutionary intervention into the economy since 1948.

We must return to the original basic ideals on which our society was built. Our problems can be resolved with the participation of millions of people. Restructuring concerns all walks of our life.

We must go consistently along the path of restructuring, albeit it will be a rather long process because it is not a one-time drive. It is a long-term problem involving a change in the way people think. The principles have been clearly expressed and new laws have either been prepared already or are on the drawing board. We are in the stage of persuasion and explanation, but we have also started the stage of implementation.

Comrade Husak then spoke about today's thinking in enterprises and about attitudes to the status of a state enterprise. He referred to the need to respect national interests and to be strictly objective in assessing the applications of enterprises seeking this status. The embarkation on the period of implementation is very important. Many enterprises are making demands, they speak mainly about the need for new technology, about the need to import it, usually from capitalist states. Although some of these demands are understandable, the attitude "give me the latest machinery, the best people, and I will fulfill my tasks" is not correct. One should think the other way around: How can I earn the funds for this machinery? Habits and customs are sometimes in the way, sometimes it is also conservative thinking and passivity that are an obstacle. Such attitudes must be broken.

Comrade Husak said that we are entering a struggle, in which there is nowhere to turn aside. He referred to the example of the Soviet Union where a process of search and experimentation is underway in connection with restructuring. He then spoke about our broadly developed political system, about the National Front and its numerous organizations, and expressed the conviction that we are not fully exploiting the existing forms and possibilities of this system. He drew attention to the responsibility of office holders and stressed that democracy is not only about rights, but about duties as well.

Certainly, our efforts involve also questions and problems that are complicated and difficult. Results cannot be expected immediately or soon. The tasks of restructuring are realistic, however, and we must approach their implementation with optimism. We must to a greater extent involve the young generation in this process. The gradual rejuvenation of the state and party apparatus that we have taken up gives it a great chance.

He went on to address some topical questions connected with the attempts of Western bourgeois propaganda to instil, using unfastidious methods, doubts about the successful outcome of our efforts into the minds of our people. He also rejected the attempts at abusing the religious feelings of some of our people in order to destabilize our society. All questions must be explained to the people honestly and truthfully—this is a principle of glasnost, of public information. The goal of our efforts is great but realistic.

Chnoupek Speaks to Bratislava-5 Party Session

AU271608 Bratislava VECERNIK in Slovak
25 Apr 88 pp 7,8

["From the Speech by Bohuslav Chnoupek," member of the CPCZ Central Committee and CSSR minister of foreign affairs, at the CPSL Municipal District Conference in Bratislava-5 (Petrzalka), held in Bratislava on 23-24 April]

[Text] I am very, very glad to be here with you, for I am tied to Petrzalka by strong memories. I was born here, I went to school here, I spent my youth here. It was from here that we were ousted by the Germans in the tragic year 1938 and where we returned in 1945. Not far from here, in the Bielik pub, we founded, as young boys, the first organization of the youth union; here, in the Matador plant, I took up my first job; and from here I joined up. A great part of my life is tied to this beautiful, right bank of the Danube.

Esteemed Comrades, I fully identify with the report that was presented here by Comrade Crman. It is rich in content, analytical, and it outlined the main directions of your future activity. This is the first conference since the constituent conference [when Petrzalka became a separate municipal district of Bratislava] and it shows, among other things, how the municipal district party organization has grown—in number but, particularly, in content. This strong organization can look forward to many possibilities, many hopes, and great prospects.

We have entered a new stage in the development of socialism. This stage has been given its precise name—renewal of socialism in Lenin's concept. The socialist revolution continues in the name of the ideals of the Great October. However, although we have achieved undeniable successes in the last more than 40 years, problems have begun to surface in the last 10 years. The socialist countries, whose economies in the fifties and sixties and even as far as the mid-seventies developed at double the growth rate of capitalist countries, gradually started to lose their dynamic pace of development. They even started to fall behind, although they had all the prerequisites to become an example for the whole world. As a result, we became witnesses to attempts at economic and democratic reforms in the countries of the socialist camp. As we know, the reforms ran aground. They did not succeed because the broad strata of the working people, workers, the intelligentsia, and the farmers, were not involved in them. Having learned this historical lesson, knowing that we can only be successful if and when we involve the masses by means of democratization, if and when we enlist all communists and everyone who wants to build socialism, we are venturing upon restructuring today. In his book, which has in its 22 million copies literally flown around the world, Comrade Gorbachev says that more socialism means more democracy, that it means fuller enforcement of the principle of loyalty in work, more collectivism in cohabitation, more cultured and humane production, social, and personal relations, more dignity, more self-respect, more active civic commitment, greater concern for the affairs of the whole country and for their favorable impact on international affairs—in other words, more of everything that is rooted in the very nature and essence of socialism. The fact that the process of democratization started precisely in the Soviet Union is valuable and irreplaceable for us. It can be said that, had this process not started in the Soviet Union, we would be unable to venture upon it in our country. After all, we know that we in Czechoslovakia started with economic reforms in the fifties and sixties. For various reasons, they did not succeed.

True, we have now set out on our own path, proceeding from our conditions. Our state of production forces and production relations and the resolution of some socio-economic issues permit us to implement restructuring with lesser problems than in the Soviet Union.

The absolute majority of our citizens, the absolute majority of Communists in our society, rightly regard restructuring as a process that is correct and unavoidable. This has been confirmed by the seventh and ninth sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee, as well as by today's report and discussion. However, we have to openly admit that not everyone has managed to come to understand and to explain the philosophy of restructuring. Some say—restructuring, okay, but let us beware of what comes next, let us be cautious! Others say—okay, but we are terribly slow, what sort of a restructuring is it when you only keep talking and nothing happens? There is a third group, those who ask whether restructuring and democratization are not a retreat from socialism, from the principles of Marxism-Leninism, whether they really have something in common with the socialism that we and generations before us studied. And, finally, there are those who, at one with Western propaganda, seek to generate confusion and demand the abolition of the socialist ownership of the means of production and the introduction of private enterprise with all its implications. This latter group also includes those who consider restructuring to be a continuation of the "process of revival" of 1968 and, without blushing, would like to equate genuine renewal of socialism, restructuring guided by the party, with the dismantling of socialism. The year 1968 does not have the least in common with restructuring, with the democratization about which we speak today! Whereas restructuring strengthens the party, the aim at that time was to eliminate the party's leading role.

Our party and its Central Committee are fully aware of the questions being raised. They understand how important it is to listen to them, to talk about them, to explain them. The understanding of these matters is conditional on great political and ideological work. This is why the CPCZ Central Committee decided to deal at its next session with the party's ideological work, with questions of improving political impact on people and reinforcing their political commitment. The restructuring of thinking is and will be one of the most important, yet also

most complicated, tasks. And it is precisely this aspect that is becoming the central factor of the entire process of restructuring in both its strategic directions—economic reform and democratization. Comrade Gromyko said that economic reform and democratization and glasnost are two sisters-German. I believe that this simple sentence expresses everything. They are really two sisters. We cannot do one without the other. When we made economic reform without democratization, we failed. And when some people wanted to make "democratization" without economic reforms, they failed twice. In this connection I will quote Comrade Gorbachev again, who says that democratization consists in the creation of conditions for people's creative work and for their self-management and that being afraid of that is tantamount to being distrustful of people. And being distrustful of people is tantamount to being distrustful of socialism. This is a correct and strong idea.

The party must be the leading force of society; nothing in socialism can be done without it. At the same time it must not use the authority of strength, but the strength of authority. Not the authority of command, but the authority of truth, the authority of idea. This is also why our April session decided to approach the working out of a new long-term program of the Communist Party, which will mean very much, indeed. I believe that it will mean a change in the methods and in the style of party work. The CPCZ will not supplant state structures, the government, institutions. It is necessary to ponder many other questions as well; the question, for example, what the content of party meetings and conferences should be. Judging by some contributions to the discussion, today party meetings and conferences resemble production consultations in many ways. It will be necessary to go back to Lenin in this respect: The party should lay down the task, set the program, safeguard it politically, and inspire the masses. In short, it should lead and supervise. We are facing challenging tasks in the future—the analysis of the past and the present and the demarcation of new directions.

Jakes Addresses Gottwaldov District Meeting

LD191150 Prague Television Service in Czech 1730 GMT 16 Apr 88

[Excerpt] More than 600 delegates convened for the Gottwaldov District CPCZ Conference representing the second-largest district party organization in the South Moravian region. They heard a report which gave a truly critical view of the situation of the party work in that district, particularly in industry. The industry base there is the second strongest in the region, but the performance far from corresponds to this. There was criticism in particular of the Svit enterprise in Gottwaldov, the Barum-rudy Rijen national enterprise in Otrokovice, and the Fatra enterprise in Napajedla. Five organizations in the district are taking part in an economic experiment. The conference report went on to refer to the need to deepen socialist democracy in the activity of the national committees as well.

The debate also got under way today where Comrade Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, spoke. He began by commending the critical and working atmosphere of the proceedings:

[Begin Jakes recording] I would like to say that there is a similar atmosphere in this conference and in the 62 conferences taking place throughout our country. I would like to express thanks for the support and active approach to the conclusions of the seventh and ninth [CC] sessions which was expressed in the report by the district party committee and in the speeches by the delegates. I also appreciate the fact that the delegates have reacted to the appeal launched by the party central committee in its resolution, where it stressed that the importance of the tasks calls for delegates, conscious of the great responsibility and trust of the party organizations they are representing, to make an active contribution to the working atmosphere, a critical and self-critical analysis, and to the collective proceedings—in short, to ensuring that the Central Committee's conclusions are projected into concrete measures. This, I think, is the stance the delegates are adopting.

The period in which our conference and this year's party annual general meetings and conferences have been taking place is really exceptionally important for the implementation of the strategy of the 17th Party Congress and the subsequent party central committee sessions. More than one-fourth of the 3d year of the Eighth 5-Year-Plan is already behind us, and this year, to a considerable extent, will decide whether or not we succeed in overcoming the substantial existing shortcomings and are able to make bolder strides along the path of intensifying the national economy, and to ensure that the tasks of the stater plan are fulfilled so as to allow the continued success of our social policy.

At the same time we must pay great attention to preparing work collectives, enterprises, and cooperatives responsibly to operate in the conditions of economic reform, which at the present time is the main component of the fundamental restructuring of the life of society and the decisive factor in improving the performance of the Czechoslovak economy. In this connection—and we must not lose sight of this—it is tremendously important that we enhance socialist democracy and apply the policy of openness and better public information as the fundamental condition for the people to understand us, increase their activity, and increase their involvement in management, administration, and in making decisions about social development, and also, above all, in actively fulfilling the tasks. We are meeting here shortly after the very important ninth session of the Party Central Committee which dealt in detail with the party's work in the conditions of restructuring the economic mechanism and enhancing socialist democracy. The question of what that means in practice was, above all, what was drawn attention to in the session. What in fact it means is that we must take the offensive in the struggle for the further development of socialist society and make better

use of its opportunities and advantages, in the interests both of increasing the people's living standards and consolidating their social guarantees, and of stepping up our contribution and of enhancing the prestige and authority of socialism in the world. [end recording]

Restructuring means a struggle for new, responsible, and independent thinking by the people, Comrade Jakes said. Further in his speech he addressed specific issues facing party members in senior economic posts. Implementing the tasks of the Eighth 5-Year-Plan is the crucial step in speeding up our society's socioeconomic development, he said and then went on to talk about the international division of labor and the need to push ahead with the practical application of science and technology and other matters.

[Begin Jakes recording] Comrades, major tasks are facing us, and the standard of our work must correspond to that. Yesterday's criteria have outlived their day. What brought us success in the past is no longer adequate today. We must fully capitalize on the advantages of socialism and give a new dynamism to our country's socioeconomic development in the interests of higher living standards for the people. This is what we see as our contribution to strengthening the positions of socialism, progress, and peace. It is a good thing that the new political thinking being consistently promoted by the Soviet Union and by Comrade Gorbachev in person is being favorably reflected in the gradual improvement in international relations, too. Not only the Warsaw Pact states as a whole but Czechoslovakia too is involved in this effort—witness our proposal for setting up a zone of trust, cooperation, and good-neighborly relations along the dividing line between the Warsaw Pact and NATO, which builds on the peace initiatives of other fraternal countries and has received a favorable response in the world. We are aware that today too, Gottwald's maxim "build up your country and you will strengthen peace" still holds true. Honest and constructive work in all sectors of the economy and throughout society is, above all, our important contribution in this respect. [applause] [end recording] [passage omitted]

Further on Federal Assembly Meetings 18-19 Apr

LD181944 Prague CTK in English
1442 GMT 18 Apr 88

[Text] Prague April 18 (CTK)—The majority of the committees of the House of the People and the House of Nations of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly held meetings today to discuss government bills and agreements.

The constitutional and legal committees of the two houses discussed a government bill on changes in the structure of federal bodies. The bill provides for the merger of the Federal Ministry of Metallurgy and Heavy Engineering, the Federal Ministry of General Engineering and the Federal Ministry of the Electrical Engineering Industry into one Federal Ministry of Metallurgy, Engineering and electrical Engineering. The Ministries of Transport and Telecommunications will also merge into one.

The Foreign Affairs Committees and the Defense and Security Committees discussed a government bill by which the Czechoslovak-Soviet-GDR agreement on inspections relating the Soviet-American INF Treaty and a Czechoslovak-U.S. convention on inspections on Czechoslovak territory are presented for approval to the Federal Assembly.

The two documents lay down ways of ensuring inspections on Czechoslovak and GDR territories, in particular conditions under which the two states will grant diplomatic immunity to U.S. inspectors, as well as the duties and guarantees of the USSR as the controlled side and the commitments of the U.S. Government to respect the conditions of the inspections which concern the military installation at Hranice na Morave from where the Soviet missiles have already been withdrawn.

The committees discussed also a convention on assistance in the case of a nuclear or radiation accident, based on the proposals presented by the USSR to the general conference of the International Atomic Energy Agency and aimed at strengthening cooperation in the use of nuclear energy.

CPCZ Leaders Attend Session

LD191104 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
0900 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Deputies of the Chamber of the People and the Chamber of Nations of the Federal Assembly have met today in Prague to discuss government draft bills, treaties, accords, and agreements.

Alois Indra, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium, Gustav Husak, president of the Republic, Lubomir Strougal, premier of the Federal Government, and other members of the party's Central Committee Presidium, Ladislav Adamec, Vasil Bilak, Peter Colotka, Ignac Janak, Josef Kempny, and Jozef Lenart; candidates members of the Party's Central Committee Presidium, Josef Haman, Vladimir Herman, Frantisek Pitra, and Miroslav Zavadil, as well as Jarolsav Hajn, chairman of the Party Central Control and Auditing Commission; secretaries of the party's Central Committee, Mikulas Beno and Frantisek Hanus; and members of the party's Central Committee Secretariat, Zdenek Horeni, Marie Kabrhelova, Jindrich Polednik, and Miroslav Stepan. Also taking part are deputy ministers and ministers of the federal government, representatives of organs, political parties, and social organizations of the National Front, and other guests.

Those present began by honoring the memory of the deceased deputy, Antonin Himl.

Mining Agreements Approved

LD191510 Prague CTK in English
1436 GMT 19 Apr 88

[Text] Prague April 19 (CTK)—The Czechoslovak Federal Assembly at its session today discussed and approved an agreement on the establishment of an international organization, Interokeanmetall, signed by Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Cuba, the German Democratic Republic, the USSR, Vietnam and Poland in Moscow April 27, 1987.

The organization will center on search for, exploration, and preparation for industrial use of iron-manganese concretions from the sea bed. According to the text of the agreement, presented in an expose by director-general of the Czechoslovak News Agency OTAKAR SVERCINA, the activity of Interokeanmetall is planned for three stages. The chief aim of the first stage, 1987-1992, is to find iron-manganese concretion deposits and seek rights to their exploitation from the international sea-bed authority. In the second (1993-1997) and third (1998-2002) stages, the organization will center on the construction of technological facilities to exploit and process iron-manganese concretions.

The activity of Interokeanmetall, based in the Polish town of Szczecin, is in tune with the U.N. convention on the Law of the Sea adopted in 1982 and with other valid international agreements. Czechoslovakia will be engaged in scientific-research work and designing and will also supply some mining and processing machinery and equipment.

The Federal Assembly also approved today a bill on the protection and use of natural wealth. The new mining law, presented by Czechoslovak Deputy Premier Karol Laco, is replacing the 1957 law on the use of natural wealth.

The amendments to the law, which in its time served as an example for the legislation of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance member states, have been necessitated by the marked changes in the Czechoslovak mining industry in the past thirty years.

The new law sets inter alia the conditions for evaluating the usability of deposits from the geological, mining and economic points of view. It also sets regulations limiting some activities in the interest of the protection of mineral wealth and contains basic provisions concerning the safety of mining.

Minister Warns Economic Criminals, Subversives

AU192015 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak
16 Apr 88 p 2

[Article by Stefan Lazar, minister of the interior of the Slovak SR: "17 April—Day of the National Security Corps; In the Interest of the People Alone"]

[Excerpts] We realize this mission of people's security more than ever on the day of the National Security Corps. On that day we recall the deliberations of the first government of the National Front in Kosice, which approved on 17 April 1945 the principles of the buildup of the Ministry of Interior, and thus of its security components. For the first time in our history, a security apparatus came into being whose mission was and is to serve the interests of the working people alone. In contrast to the previous police and gendarmerie formations that served the ruling class of exploiters, the defense of the interests of the working people has been entrusted to an apparatus which can no longer be misused against them. [passage omitted]

A new task has been added to the scale of those being fulfilled by the National Security Corps. This task is, to put it concisely, to safeguard restructuring. What is involved is a new orientation of the security service, especially regarding the protection of our economy, its links with CEMA countries, and the international division of labor in general.

We stress this because by going over to total economic accountability and self-financing, economic conditions have changed. Past experience has taught us that licentious individuals tried to exploit the new economic relations to unwarranted advantages. The task of security, and also other law-enforcement agencies, is to prevent the misuse of these new economic relations for unlawful activities against the economic system and discipline, or for illegal enrichment. [passage omitted]

The restructuring of the social and economic life is inevitably accompanied by the development of socialist democracy. However, as was stressed at recent CPCZ Central Committee sessions, what is involved is not some sort of unlimited or false democracy, but truly extensive participation by the working people in the management of production, public affairs, and, in fact, of the whole state. Those various enemies at home and abroad, who plan—especially this year—to organize mass violations of public order under the mantle of their own interpretation of democracy, should realize this objective fact. We are well aware of these plans and we know that they are politically motivated by hostility toward the socialist social order. Let us say openly that any such attempt or plan will meet with resolute resistance. We will not permit anyone to carry them through against the interests of our people. These are shortsighted and doomed plans. They did not materialize in the past, and their authors cannot reckon with them in the future either. [passage omitted]

One in Five Applicants May Travel to West

AU271415 Prague ZEMEDELSKE NOVINY in Czech 26 Apr 88 p 1

[Interview with Bretislav Bacak, director of the Czechoslovak State Bank's Accounting and Treasury Administration, by Karel Klouda and Drahoslav Zeman: "Foreign Currency for Travel Purposes;" place and date of interview not specified]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Question] To what degree do you satisfy applicants for foreign currency allocations for travel to nonsocialist states and Yugoslavia?

[Answer] I will be quite specific. We were able to satisfy one-fifth of the 180,000 people who this year applied for a foreign currency allocation for travel to nonsocialist states, and somewhat less than one-half of the 141,000 applications for foreign currency for travel to Yugoslavia. This is a similar percentage of approved applications as in previous years. In general it can be said that, as far as nonsocialist states are concerned, the interest in foreign currency allocations increases year after year, as does the amount of foreign currency that the state appropriates for this purpose. Interest in Yugoslavia is subject to great ups-and-downs, but even the amounts of foreign currency spent on travel to that country keep increasing year after year. However, most of this increase is absorbed by the need to provide our citizens with steadily growing allocations.

[Question] In the near future, do you expect any change for the better in this unfavorable proportion [of accommodated applicants]?

[Answer] I am an optimist in this regard, especially in view of the resolution on the development of tourism that the government approved last year. Under this resolution, part of the above-plan profits from passive tourism is to be used for foreign travel by our citizens. [passage omitted]

[Question] The shortage of foreign currency funds does not limit only travel to nonsocialist countries or Yugoslavia but, recently, also travel to Hungary. In conclusion, could you inform us about this year's possibilities of individual travel to that neighboring country?

[Answer] It is possible to travel to Hungary twice a year within the framework of individual tourism; the allocation of forints is currently 800 per person per trip. The allocation for trips in the high season will be fixed in June.

Scientist on Foreign Currency Limitations

AU271052 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 22 Apr 88 p 4

["Excerpt from a statement" by Vladimir Kubanek, director of the Institute of Macromolecular Chemistry attached to the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences in Prague, at the 16-17 April CPCZ District Conference in Prague-six: "Foreign Currency Only on Paper; The Way I See It"]

[Text] Our institute has relatively broad contacts with various foreign institutions and achieves relatively high proceeds in foreign currency by selling licenses for scientific contracts and by exporting instruments. Within the framework of valid regulations, the institute has used these means to buy modern technological instrumentation (currently an essential prerequisite for achieving high-standard scientific results). This has enabled us to maintain our prominent position in the world of institutions that deal with molecular chemistry. Some of the money released to us from our license proceeds enabled us to create further license funds and proceeds for our national economy. Our modern technological instrumentation is also helping other institutes and is used in production practice.

However, on 17 February 1988 we received a letter from the Czechoslovak Commercial Bank, telling us that applications for authorization to make foreign currency payments from accounts fed by foreign currencies are being currently granted on the condition that the payments will be made only after 1 January 1989. This decision has caused us considerable difficulties, hampering the fulfillment of our state plan of basic research and the adherence to international contracts and other agreements. The planned purchases of instruments could not be carried out.

Understandably, we protested this unilateral decision (made without any advance notice) both as an institute and as part of the Czechoslovak Academy of Science (CSAV), but so far without any result. In my view this decision runs counter to the principles of a planned economy, contradicts the principles of restructuring and rational economy, and should be rescinded since it is essentially opposed to the interests of our society. If we do not use the necessary means (means which we ourselves have earned) for developing science, then all principles and efforts to innovate the national economy are mere scraps of paper. And I do refrain from mentioning here the growing problems with supplying run-of-the-mill chemicals and small equipment for our basic research.

Security Precautions Taken for May Day
LD271555 Hamburg DPA in German 1425 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Excerpts] East Berlin (DPA)—GDR authorities will take considerable security precautions on 1 May. They apparently intend to prevent demonstrations either at or on the fringes of the traditional "militant demonstration" on East Berlin's Karl Marx Allee, or stifle them at birth. Instructions have been issued in the factories warning of the possible appearance of "hostile elements," informed circles said today. Heightened vigilance is necessary in case of any "abuse" of the demonstration.

Small groups of stewards from the factories have been assigned to the march—which has been strictly organized and planned down to the last detail—of rally participants past the honorary rostrum of state and party leadership. They are to watch out for strange participants and intervene in the event of disturbances. As part of the preventive measures, "instruction" was given to GDR citizens wanting to emigrate on not behaving "conspicuously" on May Day. [passage omitted]

The number of arrests of GDR citizens applying to emigrate since the end of February was put by church circles at 100 in East Berlin alone. [passage omitted]

Authorities have recently summoned some exit-seekers and told them their applications had been rejected. They were also advised that continuing efforts to emigrate would have legal consequences. [passage omitted]

Party Elections Scheduled for Fall
LD271359 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0525 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Berlin, 27 Apr (ADN)—New elections will be held and activities reports will be presented from 12 September to 12 November 1988 in party groups, departmental party organizations, basic organizations, central party executives, and local executives of the SED. This emerges from a directive of the SED Central Committee for the carrying out of party elections for 1988, which NEUES DEUTSCHLAND published Wednesday.

Delegate conferences for the new election of district, town district [stadtbezirk] and town executives will take place from 3 to 10 December.

Danish Paper Interviews Honecker
AU261415 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 21 Apr 88 p 1

["Interview With Erich Honecker by the Danish Newspaper JYLLANDS POSTEN"]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, granted the following interview to Nils Thostrup, chief editor of the Danish daily JYLLANDS POSTEN, on 18 April:

Question: How do you picture future relations between Denmark and the GDR in the fields of commerce and politics?

Answer: In spite of their different social orders and alliance memberships, our countries have a similar or concurrent attitude toward the basic questions of preserving peace. Therefore, I am optimistic that we will be able to intensify the political exchange of opinions. This serves the benefit of our peoples, promotes understanding, and helps secure peace.

The long-term government agreement on development of economic, industrial, and technological cooperation is a solid prerequisite for extending economic relations. Judging from the profile and the efficiency of our states' economies, shipbuilding, equipment for the foodstuffs industry and energy production, and the medical and textile processing industries, among others, could be of mutual interest.

The departmental ministers and experts should also cooperate more closely, especially in the sectors of trade, transportation, environmental protection, the building industry, and agriculture. Contract relations and cultural exchange can also be developed.

Question: Mr Chairman of the State Council, you have repeatedly stated that the GDR has a well-functioning economic and social planning system which you want to continue. A member of your Politburo, Mr Kurt Hager, said that "it is not necessary to redecorate your room just because your neighbor has redecorated theirs." Do you believe the GDR has nothing to learn from the reform efforts in the Soviet Union?

Answer: By no means. If you look around the world, you will see that all socialist countries are eager to apply Marxism-Leninism even more effectively—the basis of their activities—in line with their national conditions for further shaping socialism and with their countries' requirements. This is good for the economic, social, and cultural development of each socialist country. Here it is important to learn from each other, but not to copy the other. In this question all socialist countries have become cleverer. Therefore, looking for a model does not pay. Nobody has a formula that applies to all. There is no such formula. Kurt Hager's reply also has to be interpreted in this sense. The exchange of experiences, as well as cooperation and mutual solidarity are important. The basis of our work lies in the decisions of the 11th SED Congress.

The exchange of opinions between socialist countries has already played a major role in successful development of the GDR. We have implemented comprehensive reorganization and reforms and, of course, have learned much from our friends' experiences in this way. It is of decisive importance for every country to react to the questions posed by life in line with national and international

conditions. The Eighth SED Congress is a vivid example of this, just like our conference with the first secretaries of the SED kreis leaderships this year.

We are further shaping the developed socialist society in accordance with the decisions of the 11th SED Congress. There is the confirmation that the construction of socialism is a historical process of profound political, economic, social, and intellectual-cultural changes. By the way, this had already been set down in our 1976 party program. Therefore, we will always have to find answers to new questions. The experiences of the other socialist countries are a great help to us here.

Question: Within the CSCE process, both Western and neutral countries complain about the attitude of the socialist governments with regard to human rights. The GDR is criticized because, among other things, it controls films and theaters, radio and television, books, magazines, and newspapers, because the state persecutes Christian activists, and because the GDR restricts the right of its citizens to travel freely and to emigrate. What is your reaction to this criticism?

Answer: We are open to critical remarks, but we do not keep quiet if we consider them unjustified. Let us take, for example, the question of human rights. They are guaranteed in our country in every respect. After all, all our lives we have struggled to achieve them. Today we still sing the hymn "The International fights for human rights." Everything depends on what one understands as human rights.

Human rights are a reality in our country; this is demonstrated by established social facts and judicial guarantees. This goes for the entirety of the economic, social, cultural, civil, and political rights set down in the two international human rights conventions of 1966. In our country there are neither unemployed nor homeless people. In the GDR the right to joint codetermination is guaranteed, as well as the right to freedom of information and religion. No one is persecuted because of his Christian beliefs. As you can convince yourself, the Christian communities even enjoy the protection and the support of the state. No one is prevented from receiving information from Western television and radio broadcasts reaching the GDR. We acquire more than three times as many newspapers, magazines, and films from the Western CSCE countries than these countries do from the GDR.

A look at the GDR's varied cultural life proves that, in this area, too, we are a country that is open to the world. However, we do make sure that views are not spread that glorify fascism and racist hatred or oppose understanding among peoples.

Concerning our citizens' travel possibilities, the Western world holds partially distorted views, that are not spread by us. In 1987, for instance, GDR citizens made more than 14 million trips abroad, including 5 million to the FRG and to Berlin (West). Of course, financing these trips is closely linked with our economic possibilities.

Question: After the Washington treaty between U.S. President Ronald Reagan and Soviet Secretary General Mikhail Gorbachev, serious politicians and commentators in the West are warning NATO against the total elimination of nuclear weapons. They think that eliminating them would leave Western Europe without protection against what the West considers to be the superiority of the Warsaw Pact. How do you assess the current relations between the two alliance systems and what do you think about the aforementioned statements?

Answer: Those who judge today's relationship of power between East and West in the conventional area without prejudices cannot turn a deaf ear to the conclusions of the London Institute for Strategic Studies—which is, by the way, close to NATO—that neither the Warsaw Pact nor NATO are strong enough to win a war, and that both enjoy an approximate, relatively stable parity. I consider this assessment serious and realistic.

We are in favor of not endangering mankind's existence. Responsible politicians are faced with only one reasonable way of acting—turning away from both nuclear and conventional deterrence. In this spirit, our readiness to progress from zero-option to zero-option applies to all kinds of weapons.

Question: The official view of the two Berlin summits in 1987 was that a conventional balance must be reached through the strong party's disarmament down to the level of the weak party. The May summit also stated that historical, geographical, and other factors have caused a lack of balance and equality between NATO and the Warsaw Pact, about which the socialist countries are ready to negotiate. Where, do you think, should limits be established in order to reach a new and lasting relationship of power concerning conventional arms in Europe?

Answer: The Warsaw Pact documents do indeed proceed from the premise of ensuring a balance concerning conventional arms at an ever lower level, without causing one of the sides to lose its security. Therefore, in addition to further steps toward nuclear disarmament and toward preventing the arms race in space, we are proposing to NATO considerable reductions in armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe. The elimination of existing asymmetries should be initiated by requiring the side that has more to disarm, instead of causing the side that has less to acquire additional arsenals. In the Warsaw Pact this applied, for instance, to tanks; in NATO it concerns, among other things, offensive tactical air forces. In general, the dangerous conventional offensive weapons should be reduced: offensive air forces, long-range artillery, combat helicopters, tanks, and, of course, the corresponding personnel. The aim is the inability of both sides to attack. Demands for unilateral steps in advance, however, do not yield any results.

Question: The FRG is the GDR's most important trade partner in Western Europe. As a result, GDR products also have favorable chances on the big EC market. Do you think the time is now ripe for a more formal contact between the EC and CEMA, and thus also for reciprocal actions? And what do you think about the EC's interest in bilateral relations between the EC and the individual socialist countries?

Answer: As you know, CEMA and the EC are negotiating the establishment of official relations. I see good chances for a declaration on establishment of official relations between CEMA and the EC to be passed soon. The GDR is supporting this development. In this connection, it has expressed its readiness to establish official relations with the EC and to send an ambassador to Brussels.

Question: U.S. President Ronald Reagan has recently called for tearing down the Wall between East Berlin and West Berlin. You reject this idea as "provocative." Why does the Wall have to remain?

Answer: It will remain as long as the reasons that led to its construction exist. President Reagan, too, knows that the Wall is both the GDR's territorial border to Berlin (West) and the borderline between two different social systems. Thus, one cannot simply tear it down. Over 27 years it has proved to be a stabilizing factor in Europe. The United States, too, signed the Helsinki Final Act, which declares the inviolability of the borders and the sovereignty of each state.

Question: How do you see relations between the GDR and the FRG after your visit to the FRG? What do you remember from your visit to your birthplace in Saarland?

Answer: The GDR has always accorded great importance to relations with the FRG. From the political, historical, and geographical point of view, both states have a special responsibility for peace. This was also the motto of my official visit to the FRG in September 1987. The Joint Communique initiated a new stage both in politics and in trade and culture. Now we are working on putting these agreements into practice in the international and bilateral fields. The visit to my place of birth, the place of my first activities in the workers movement, moved me greatly, of course. I was particularly moved by the friendly reception and the meeting with old fellow-fighters and with the young people of today.

Question: You have had a long and interesting life. May we expect your memoirs later? How would you like to be remembered by history, by the communist movement, and by the German people? What are the qualities you would like to see in your successor? And have you had a model in your political career?

Answer: I have been very lucky in having been able to participate in fulfilling the ideals and hopes of the best of our people, in eliminating the exploitation of man by man, and in the building of socialist society. Many friends and comrades have influenced my development. I will never forget the talks with Ernst Thaelmann, the legendary leader of the German workers class, and the comradely work with Wilhelm Pieck, Otto Grotewohl, Walter Ulbricht, Max Fechner, Hermann Matern, and many others. Wilhelm Pieck, the first president of our republic, was always a comrade and model for me. I wrote about this in my autobiography "From My Life."

For the future, too, I consider the SED's collective leadership to be the guarantee that our party will live up to the requirements of the time.

FRG Minister Discusses Health Cooperation

LD272005 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1126 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Berlin 27 Apr ADN—Professor Dr Ludwig Mecklinger, the GDR minister for health, held talks on Wednesday in Berlin with Dr Rita Suessmuth, the FRG federal minister for youth, family, women, and health. Dr Suessmuth is in the GDR on an official visit of several days, at the invitation of Prof Dr Mecklinger. Prof Mecklinger emphasized that the visit serves the efforts toward disarmament and the preservation of peace, and the further expansion and normalization of relations between the two German states. The partners in the talks assessed the progress in carrying out the joint health agreement of 1974. They discussed possible new steps to expand cooperation on the basis of the joint communique on the visit of Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, to the FRG on 8 September 1987.

Prof Mecklinger declared that the reciprocation of his visit to the FRG in November 1986 by Dr Suessmuth highlights the possibilities for deepening the exchange of experience and views between the ministers responsible for structuring the health policies of their governments. Despite differing standpoints there are numerous points of connection for cooperation—useful to both sides and serving the interests of the people—between the two states in the areas of the health system and medical science.

Both sides hold in especially high esteem the free medical aid provided to citizens of each other's state during temporary residence in the GDR or in the FRG, as they do the securing of dialysis machines and the carrying out of special treatments in the framework of the agreements. Dr Hans Otto Braeutigam, the head of the permanent mission of the FRG in the GDR, also took part in the talks.

Meets With Lange

LD272020 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1317 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Berlin, 27 Apr ADN—Inge Lange, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, and Prof Dr Rita Suessmuth, deputy chairman of the CDU in the FRG and federal

minister of youth, family, women, and health, met for an exchange of views on Wednesday. The talk, which centered on questions of peace preservation and current and specific questions concerning women and family policy, took place in an open and receptive atmosphere.

Inge Lange and Rita Suessmuth noted that there have been a series of positive changes in both the international situation and relations between the GDR and the FRG since the official visit by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, to the FRG in September 1987. The task is to continue the process of arms control and disarmament with reason and realism. A good start has been made with the conclusion of the treaty between the USSR and the United States on the elimination of their intermediate-range missiles. A speedy ratification of that treaty is just as much in the interests of the two German states as a 50-percent reduction in the strategic offensive weapons of the USSR and the United States under strict adherence to the ABM Treaty and a ban on nuclear weapons tests and chemical weapons.

Inge Lange emphasized that the women of the GDR are working with enthusiasm and dedication for the preservation of peace, security, and international cooperation. This is impressively reflected in the peace rallies marking International Women's Day, in which more than 2 million women and girls of the GDR took part.

In this connection Inge Lange explained the convening of the "International Meeting for Nuclear Weapons-Free Zones" scheduled for 20-22 June in Berlin. With this meeting, the GDR is constructively continuing its policy for peace and dialogue.

The politician emphasized that the GDR will continue to work for the continuation of the policy for peace preservation and businesslike cooperation with the FRG, as expressed in the joint communique of 8 September 1987.

Inge Lange outlined the results of implementation of the course of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy. This policy is demonstrated in the great respect paid to women and girls in the GDR. It finds convincing expression in the successful path toward full equality in work and society, in comprehensive measures by the state for further improvement of women's working and living conditions, and in support for and promotion of the family.

Rita Suessmuth expressed thanks for the opportunity to have the talk and outlined some current issues concerning women in the FRG. She emphasized the FRG Government's interest in continuing productive cooperation in all spheres in the service of peace between the two German states, especially in areas concerning women and family policy.

The talk was attended on the GDR side by Prof Dr Ludwig Mecklinger, minister of the health service, and Elli Gloeckner, deputy head of the Women's Affairs Department of the Central Committee, and on the FRG side by Hans-Otto Braeutigam, head of the FRG's permanent mission to the GDR, and Dr Hanna-Beate Schoepp-Schilling, departmental head in the Federal Ministry of Youth, Family, Women, and Health.

Beil Opens Technical Days in Amsterdam

AU281038 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27 Apr 88 pp 1,2

[Excerpts] Amsterdam—The "Technical Days of the GDR" opened at the Amsterdam World Trade Center on Tuesday [26 April]. They were opened by Gerhard Beil, GDR minister of foreign trade, and his Netherlands counterpart Yvonne van Rooy following a detailed exchange of views. The event was attended by Job Key, president of the Amsterdam Trade Chamber, and Wolfgang Strohmeyer, GDR ambassador to the Netherlands.

In a short opening speech Minister Beil stressed that this is the third opportunity for GDR foreign trade enterprises and combines to present top achievements and interesting technological solutions in selected spheres of technology during the "Technical Days." In past years the Netherlands economy has organized "Technical Days in the GDR" three times. [passage omitted]

In the afternoon the GDR foreign trade minister was received by Rudolf de Korte, deputy prime minister and minister of economic affairs. During the friendly talk, the two politicians gave a positive assessment of the state of economic relations between their two countries and stressed that they were strengthened on the basis of the agreements reached during Erich Honecker's visit to the Netherlands. [passage omitted]

Following this meeting, Minister Gerhard Beil gave a speech to leading representatives from the Netherlands economy on economic development in the GDR and implementation of the economic strategy adopted by the 11th SED Congress, which was followed with great attention. He presented a survey of the state of economic relations between the GDR and the Netherlands and spoke about possibilities of how to expand relations on the basis of the current 5-year plan.

Sindermann Visits Portuguese Parliament

LD262222 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2044 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] Lisbon, 26 Apr (ADN)—Horst Sindermann, president of the GDR People's Chamber and SED Central Committee Politburo member, met Vitor Crespo, speaker of the Assembly of the Portuguese Republic, on Tuesday evening.

During the exchange of views on international questions, especially peace preservation and disarmament, the People's Chamber president conveyed an invitation to attend the International Meeting for Nuclear Weapons-free Zones in Berlin in June. The deputies paid a great deal of attention to the forum, the Portuguese parliamentary president said.

Horst Sindermann arrived at Lisbon Airport this afternoon heading a delegation from the GDR People's Chamber. The delegation, which was invited by the Assembly of the Republic, includes Johannes Chemnitzer, member of the SED Central Committee and first secretary of the Neubrandenburg SED Bezirk Executive (SED parliamentary group), Heino Ernst (FDGB parliamentary group), Gerda Heller (Liberal Democratic Party parliamentary group), and Klaus-Dieter Thiemes (Democratic Peasants' Party parliamentary group).

The delegation was received with military honors in front of the Palacio Sao Bento, the Portuguese parliament building, by the president of the Assembly of the Republic. The delegation then had a meeting with the Assembly Presidium and representatives of the parties in the parliament. This was followed by a meeting with Antonio Capucho, minister of parliamentary affairs, and a visit to a plenary session.

This evening Vitor Crespo gave a dinner in honor of his guest.

Meets Foreign Minister

LD272049 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1437 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Lisbon, 27 Apr (ADN)—A GDR People's Chamber delegation led by Chamber President and SED Central Committee Politburo member Horst Sindermann, met Portuguese Foreign Minister Joao de Deus Pinheiro in Lisbon on Wednesday. The exchange of views focused on peace and disarmament.

The delegation later met with the parliamentary committee for national defense. This evening Horst Sindermann and Portuguese President Mario Soares will hold talks. Sindermann will also attend a reception given by GDR Ambassador Julian Hollender.

Fischer Receives Islamic Conference Official

LD272239 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1331 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Berlin 27 Apr (ADN)—GDR Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer had a friendly exchange of views on Wednesday with Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada, secretary general of the Organization of the Islamic Conference, who is in the GDR for the UN European regional seminar on the Palestine question.

During the meeting Oskar Fischer explained the committed action of the GDR for peace, disarmament, and friendship between peoples. He described especially the GDR's most recent initiatives for creation of a climate of trust and mutual security in Europe. The GDR views the establishment of nuclear-free zones on the European continent, and in other regions of the world, as an important step toward further improvement of the international situation. This concern is also served by the International Meeting for Nuclear-Free Zones to be held in June 1988 in Berlin.

The secretary general of the Islamic Conference greeted the GDR's initiative in calling the meeting. He explained the conference's commitment, based on its charter and decisions, to world peace and propserous coexistence of peoples and states.

Oskar Fischer affirmed the GDR's estimation of the contribution of the Islamic Conference and its member states in the international arena toward peace, security, and cooperation. Recognition was given especially to its efforts to find a peaceful solution to existing conflicts.

The people of the GDR feel a high regard for the significant cultural and historical achievements of Islam and its humanistic faith. This is also reflected in the long-standing, traditional relations of friendly cooperation which exist between the GDR and most Islamic states. Oskar Fischer values these relations as an expression of the striving to engage, regardless of different philosophical or religious views, for a common peaceful future for mankind.

The GDR is prepared to further deepen relations, which are of mutual advantage, with Islamic states.

Both politicians expressed concern over the continuing explosive situation in the Near East and in the Gulf region. They expressed their support for the early calling of an international Near East peace conference under the patronage of the United Nations organization.

The interlocutors affirmed their view that the establishment of a just and lasting peace in the Near East must include the achievement of the legitimate national rights of the Palestinian people. Foreign Minister Oskar Fischer and General Secretary Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada spoke in support of the immediate ending of the Iran-Iraq conflict on the basis of Resolution 598 of the UN Security Council.

Syed Sharifuddin Pirzada expressed his satisfaction concerning the holding in the GDR's capital of the UN regional seminar on the Palestine question .

Sieber Signs Party Accord in Zimbabwe

LD262013 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1533 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] Harare, 26 Apr (ADN)—An agreement between the SED and the ZANU-PF [Zimbabwe African National Union—Patriotic Front] on cooperation in the period 1988 to 1991 was concluded in Harare on Tuesday.

The document was signed by Guenter Sieber, member of the SED Central Committee and head of its International Relations Department, and Didymus Mutasa, politburo member and ZANU-PF secretary for foreign affairs. An SED Central Committee delegation led by Guenter Sieber arrived in Zimbabwe the same day for a visit of several days at the invitation of ZANU-PF.

In the agreement, the two sides emphasized that the friendly relations which exist between them should be further developed. The basis for this is their joint interest in the struggle for a new world economic order, preservation of peace, and opposition to imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, and all forms of racism.

During a subsequent talk, Didymus Mutasa praised the socialist states' peace policy and their proposals for strengthening international security. He stressed in particular the active personal contribution by Erich Honecker to implementing this peace policy in Europe. The initiative seized by the GDR head of state for convening a meeting on nuclear weapons-free zones receives Zimbabwe's full support.

Didymus Mutasa outlined the situation in southern Africa and the process of unification between the ZANU-PF and ZAPU-PF [Zimbabwe African People's Union—Patriotic Front] taking place in Zimbabwe. The two sides agreed that apartheid in South Africa must be eliminated. This would undermine the campaign to destabilize the Frontline States.

Received by Foreign Minister

LD272107 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1441 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Harare, 27 Apr ADN—Zimbabwe's foreign minister, Dr Nathan Shamuyarira, received Guenter Sieber, member of the SED Central Committee and head of its International Relations Department, in Harare today for a friendly talk. Both politicians stressed the desire of their parties and states to continue to make every effort for world peace and to eliminate the shameful apartheid system in South Africa. Dr Shamuyarira paid tribute to the close cooperation between the SED and ZANU-PF and hoped it will further deepen.

At a reception last night in honor of the SED Central Committee delegation led by Guenter Sieber, at which leading members of ZANU-PF, the Zimbabwean Government, and the Parliament were present, the Zimbabwean foreign minister stressed the long-standing support of the GDR for the Zimbabwean people, going back to the time of the liberation struggle. Today the socialist German state gives Zimbabwe valuable help, among other things, in the training of urgently needed cadres.

Army Delegation Visits Hanoi

AU251608 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23-24 Apr 88 p 5

[Text] Hanoi (ND)—Colonel General Horst Bruenner, GDR deputy minister of national defense, chief of the Political Main Administration of the National People's Army, and member of the SED Central Committee, met with Colonel General Nguyen Quyet, chief of the Political Main Administration of the Vietnamese People's Army, for a talk in Hanoi on Friday [22 April].

MSZMP Officials Discuss Conference Draft

LD261703 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1715 GMT 25 Apr 88

[Interview with MSZMP Central Committee Secretary Gyorgy Fejti and Erno Lakatos, director of the MSZMP Central Committee Agitation and Propaganda Department, by Andras Feuer, not further identified; date, place not given]

[Text] [Feuer] Another phase of preparations for the national conference has come to an end. The party organs and other political, social, and special-interest organizations have concluded their debates on the draft standpoint. What are the first impressions on the debate?

[Fejti] Well, what is particularly important for us is that very active, intensive work having many, many constructive aspects has been carried out. This is a good sign because I also see in this the laying of the foundations for vitality and action. Furthermore, it is important that the debates accepted the draft standpoint as the basis for further work. I would add at once that quite a few critical observations were heard, too. Thus the draft standpoint will require subsequent reworking on many important points.

From one point, criticism was made of the evaluation of the situation, the exploration of the more basic reasons for our worries, but it was also mentioned that we should formulate a little more unequivocally, more clearly, what we want to do differently. The question of responsibility also came up in the debate, as well as questions regarding guarantees for the future. On the main issues, regarding the need for further comprehensive economic institutional changes that will strengthen each other, unity was unequivocal. This was also true regarding the view that the party must stand at the head of this process, even though the party is not the exclusive owner of all reform concepts. So, this work must be carried out openly, endeavoring for a broad consensus. There was also agreement in that the leadership is in need of significant intellectual enlivening.

[Lakatos] Now, a few party debates have been carried out. They have been carried out regarding the party itself, about the reform of the institutional system, and on ideological questions. Every party member has been spoken to. Their opinions have been sought on society, the party to which they belong, and their own activities. These two great debates and conversations, I feel, influenced the third very positively. If I may say so, our debating culture has greatly developed in this exchange of opinions. May I also say that this is also a great thing, that according to our calculations and estimations as we followed the debates in the base organizations, around 200,000 people expressed their opinions, which means every fourth or fifth party member.

I think it is very significant that in recent times the view has spread that a certain lethargy characterizes the population and the party membership. This debate and activity, this presence in the debate proves the opposite. It seems that Hungarian society, and within this the party membership, is greatly interested in how to go forward and in what way. This is why it is allying with the policy that will produce a renewal in the party and action in society, which will accept and implement the reform.

[Feuer] Of course, people planning for the future always start out from the past. Gyorgy Fejti also mentioned, and it was heard in numerous debates, that a scientific analysis must be made to determine how the present situation developed. At times they spoke about the deepening political and social crisis. There were places, at the Budapest party committee meeting for example, where only crisis-awareness was mentioned. To indicate other sources, the Presidium of the Patriotic People's Front, or the managing board of the Economic Chamber also urged a scientifically demanding analysis. What is your opinion on the present situation? Is it crisis or only crisis-awareness?

[Fejti] I think this question cannot be answered with a simple yes or no. I think a precise evaluation of the situation is very important, that we should start out from how things really are, from reality, and the evaluation of the situation should get nearer to people's everyday general feeling, for this is also a part of reality. However, the general feeling is not the exclusive reality.

Two extremes are threatening us. One extreme is the dramatization of the situation. That some deep-rooted or total crisis has developed is not, I think, underpinned by the facts. This is, I think, a manipulative interpretation of the situation, and it is dangerous because it disarms, makes uncertain, in some cases it causes panic. However, I would consider the trivialization of the matter just as dangerous. For it is also a fact that signs of crisis are present, and a crisis-awareness is present as well. There are signs of crisis present in the economy, and even more perhaps in the moral, ethical sphere. There are symptoms of crisis mainly in the question of confidence.

Now, in my view, Hungarian development has reached a turning point, and not just recently. For some years now we have been unable to cross a development threshhold. We see now that we really cannot handle our problems in the old manner. Our new endeavors are not completely successful, either. So we are living through a period burdened with bolts forward, falls back, steps back, and this is full of tensions and torments. This is a difficult state.

[Feuer] Are you also saying with this that perhaps this party conference could have been, should have been, convened earlier, as we have not been able to go beyond this point for a few years?

[Fejti] I say that the analysis of the situation is a longer process. From this point of view, the national party conference is neither the end nor the beginning of something, but an important point in a process. In looking for the reasons, we have known for a long time now—we have also drawn the conclusions of this, only asserting that in practice this is not simple—that we have not kept up with the mainstream of the world economy, with its main development tendencies. We have a very important interest in catching up. We have reached the stage where the effectiveness of social capital is very low, and this is connected with property rights and the rights of control over property. Yields on investments are small, yet this is the basis of prosperity. We have reached the stage where neither the interest of the individual nor that of the group is really intense. For that reason, the inhibition of achievement is significant.

I could go on to list the factors, but there is also a new recognition. We must, in my opinion, make the greatest step on this path. This new recognition is the organic connection between economic reform and reform of the system of political institutions.

[Feuer] Of course, this is not such a new recognition, either.

[Fejti] It is new in that we really see now that the development of democracy, the citizen's willingness for initative, his competence, are an extremely important elevating force. Thus movements should not be generated only from above, society should move from below as well, so changes should come to fruition there, too.

It is a relatively new recognition that openness is very important from the point of view of self-control. So it appears that reform of the system of political institutions may mean a series of new driving forces from the point of view of economic resurgence. In this respect, our situation is not as determined as in the economy.

[Feuer] Did a lack of ideological clarity play a part in the country's being in its current state?

[Lakatos] Well, if we speak of the delicate issue of a lack of ideological clarity, then let me say that decades have passed without our spelling out the nature of socialist society. Well, without making clear that it is a commodity-producing society, it cannot be pointed out either that in a commodity-producing society there are money relations, there are market relations. Whereas if we say that it is a commodity-producing society, then we must also deal with its market and money relations, with the law of value. However, I do not wish to go into this now. We have been carrying out an ideological debate and will continue to carry it out; it will also form a part of the party conference, but I also would like to reaffirm that I am one of those who do not wish to start some sort of semantic debate in this situation regarding the word: crisis. I can accept the formulation used by the CPSU when it looks on its own work in light of the existence in certain respects of near-crisis phenomena which must be dealt with.

[Fejti] I think that the party conference can be an important stage in this respect, as well. For a long time when examining the disturbances in our development, we went back to the circumstances in which the reform launched in 1968 came to a standstill. It seems that we have to go back a bit further into our history, to the time when the political system of institutions developed which then—that is, at the end of the forties and the beginning of the fifties—came about fundamentally as the system of institutions of the dictatorship of the proletariat, which was fundamentally created to deal with the problem of the extensive phase of development.

With a certain amount of over-simplification, it was the concept at that time that there was a clear picture of socialism, that there was a leading force in society that knew what it wanted, and that the rest was a matter of well-functioning transmission mechanisms. We have come a long way from this model now, but in many respects we are still bearing its burdens. Currently an expression is used in the Soviet Union to the effect that socialism is a great historical experiment, a long collective learning process that assumes a different structure, a different system of political institutions in which the party communicates with various groups in society; explores and integrates, and synthesizes interests; goes forward and steps back; experiments—in other words, works out in practice the lessons of its own endeavors. There is no way this can be done in a centralized fashion.

[Feuer] It is quite certain that the roots go back to the end of the forties here in Hungary, but I think it is not too desirable to use this as the cause of the situation, just as it was not very desirable to point to external circumstances alone, or later to refer in a generalized way to shortcomings in our own work as we analyze the situation. At almost all the present party conferences, the question of responsibility was raised. Who made the decisions? Why did the country get into this situation? Who is responsible? Which body is responsible?

[Lakatos] I will go back now to what we have already discussed, namely that we also have a certain model problem. And this is what I would underline, something we cannot disregard, that all of socialism is struggling with a certain model crisis, the Soviet Union included. Even if we have stretched this model, as Comrade Fejti says, its elements are still present. Thus, we will have to struggle with it for a very long time yet, in the economy, in society, and in other spheres, as well.

Well, let me just refer to the question of pluralism. I mention it because with this issue I want to demonstrate that it was the Hungarian party that was the first among the Marxist parties of the socialist countries to proclaim the existence of ideological pluralism and the need to

deal with it. This had a considerable effect. Certain pluralistic features are gaining ground in the economic sphere as well, and will continue to do so, particularly in the coming period, in the course of the consistent implementation and fulfillment of the reform. Well, it is natural that in the handling of matters pluralism is gaining ground in other respects as well. For example, one can refer to the pluralism of interests and other spheres.

Naturally, this has to be examined. It is necessary to look at the decisionmaking mechanisms in which the mistakes were made. However, when concrete responsibility is being examined it is always necessary to take the concrete situation into consideration. To conduct the present-day debate without taking into consideration, let us say, the debate regarding Hungarian energy sources at the end of the sixties and the beginning of the seventies, particularly at the end of the sixties, when it was debated whether it should be oil, atomic energy, or coal—they now say that lobbies argued about this—it is possible to go back and look at the question of responsibility, but always with due regard for the time the decision was made, the alternatives then available, and perhaps also how these alternatives were affected by world developments.

[Feuer] I think this is identical with the wish voiced at several county party conferences, namely that the formulation contained in the draft standpoint is inadequate since it only points to the Central Committee or certain party bodies generally as the decisionmakers. They would also like to know when and which Central Committee, with what composition, which government, composed of whom, made which of the decisions that later turned out to have been wrong, and against what alternatives. In other words, many people say that even the general acceptance of collective responsibility is not altogether in place, while they are awaiting the apportionment of personal responsibility as well, even though I am aware that with the existing decisionmaking mechanism this is a very difficult matter.

[Fejti] Yes, it is my opinion as well that the determination of responsibility and of personal responsibility is one of the weakest points in our entire mechanism. However, this is not a weakness of the document; this is a weakness of the mechanism. Collective decisionmaking, unfortunately, often hides collective irresponsibility or collective mistakes. This is not a good thing; people do not accept this.

How is it possible to break out of this vicious circle? I think that one of the important steps must be to create clearer conditions of decisionmaking and responsibility, partly within the party and partly in relations between the party and the state, and in relations between the party and mass organizations. This is a fundamental issue. Responsibility belongs primarily to the decisionmakers. Our decisionmaking system is still relatively centralized, although we have taken many steps along the road of decentralization. We must go further along this road. After all, decisions have to be made in the main and fundamentally where the consequences will manifest themselves.

Third, there is openness in the preparation of decisions. We are using openness in several senses. A process of preparing decisions in public identifies the persons who participate in making the decision and in this sense make responsibility personal. Thus, it is some sort of change in this direction which we must develop.

Now, there are also a number of questions of a so-called technical nature that must be settled. We must think through the use of the no-confidence motion, certainly in the sphere of state work. We have to think through the recall mechanisms. These have been declared, but are not capable of functioning. We have to think of how we can make them capable of functioning, and create in a civilized way conditions for so-called honorable retirement.

[Feuer] Is there perhaps a need for institutional guarantees regarding the future, for the correction of mistakes and the strengthening of responsibility?

[Fejti] There is certainly a need for institutional guarantees, and the planned reform of the system of political institutions serves precisely this end in a sense. Well, as I have already said, publicity is, in itself, a certain guarantee. In the same way, the development of clearer conditions of decisionmaking and responsibility also provides a certain guarantee.

[Feuer] In other words, responsibility does not always lie in the implementation alone, but also in the decision and even in the preparation of the decision? It exists not only in relation to bodies, but also with respect to individuals?

[Fejti] Naturally. I regard it as very important that society should have a clearer view; if there is a more stable system of values, then any deviation from this system of values is more obvious.

Perhaps I should mention the legal guarantees as well. At the present time, our lives are overregulated in many respects. There are too many legal regulations, but in general the transgression of these legal regulations does not result in any sanction. Thus, while we experience a state of overregulation, there is also a great deal of disorder in society. I explain this by the lack of those fundamental legal regulations and norms that would clarify what it is forbidden to do in society, what cannot be reconciled with our fundamental values and interests. If these main rules are set out in our laws, then there is no need for an overregulated mechanism. Then everything can be done that does not transgress these high-level legal regulations.

[Feuer] The METESZ [Federation of Technological and Scientific Associations] Presidium interestingly enough also proclaimed a principle that is the same, namely that it should not be possible to ignore minority views. It has been said in many places that protection should be given to those who talk about a different alternative to the one currently in favor. Thus, in a great many places they would like more guarantees than there have been until now.

[Fejti] I think that these are justified demands. The right to express an opinion—which, by the way, so far as I know, is set out in all organized movements, as well as in the party statutes—does not need reregulation. It must be respected much more, as well as the right to maintain one's own opinion. What is more, thought must be given to ways for possibilities to be created for the minority view to become, in a given situation, the majority view. So far, we have not been able to formulate and establish this in an institutionalized form.

[Feuer] Everywhere a great many words were devoted to the party itself—its operation, democracy, and unity; its relationship with the state and other political and social organizations. In many places people spoke about the need for the party to change, too. What kind of change would this be?

[Fejti] I would mention first that we need to redefine the concept of the party's leading role a little. I would express this by saying that it is not primarily an issue of legal or political declarations, but that the prevalance of its leading role depends primarily on the correctness of its policy, or on the ability of the party and its members to convince society of this. The other important thing is that basically we must deal with the main processes taking place in society. The party almost has to have an exclusive role; it must deal with strategic issues and must not conceive its role as that of controlling society.

[Feuer] What you are talking about is more than what had been described previously in inner party debates as changing the workstyle, is it not? That it should be less operative, should interfere less and in a less bureaucratic manner with tasks pertaining primarily to the state?

[Fejti] It means this, too; but it also means more than this, a role that is different, that is qualitatively modified.

[Feuer] How do you see it?

[Lakatos] Party unity was raised in this connection, regarding renewal efforts, in a fearful manner. I would give this a very prominent place because party unity is the basis of any kind of ability to act, but this also must be approached completely differently; life compels us to do something else.

[Feuer] How can party unity be reconciled with the presence of minority views?

[Lakatos] I would like to make a comment and then return to your question. So still on the role of the party: We must create a more healthy ratio between continuity and change. A gradual approach and continuity are very important, but it appears now that we must concentrate on a break, on a change in our life. So this, too, is an important direction in the workstyle of the party. I would also mention here that the party's policy—on the main questions—must be shaped by the membership. I use the word membership, which of course must emphatically appear in the decision of the leadership. However, communications with the party membership must be significantly more frequent and the importance of this is proved precisely by the debates that have been taking place during this (?1/2) year.

Finally, returning to the interpretation of unity. I think that we are living in a period when current standards render the previous conception of unity anachronistic. However, what is also at issue is that it is not yet possible to create a unity on a whole series of issues today. In other words, it is at least as important for us to establish unity on the more principal issues than it is to clarify those issues on which debate cannot be closed at any given moment. Now, this is something that the party—and let me add the party leadership, too—takes with considerable difficulty. It is an unusual situation; we must work together while there are issues which cannot be closed....

[Feuer, interrupting] And there are opinions of a different kind...

[Lakatos, continuing] And there are opinions of a different kind, too....

[Feuer, continuing] ...without which, I think, even the party would not be able to survive...

[Fejti, interrupting] Yes.

[Feuer, continuing] ...for if there is a one-party system, then the differing opinion is also its own control.

[Lakatos] Well, opinions appear not only in the party, but in mass organizations, in movements, and alternatives can surface in mass organizations and movements, in communities of citizens. It is necessary for these to come about. Now, the question is: What should the attitude toward this be? In my opinion there can only be one view: The alternative opinions, or the alternative ideas must be judged according to their merits and forums, in the form of advisory or consultative bodies or in any other form, must be created at which the issue can be discussed in a matter-of-fact way, in a calm manner.

My opinion is that within the party, too, in a given set of issues, the stances and opinions very frequently are born out of a minority view for, after all, it is a minority view that prevails and then becomes acceptable for the majority as well at a later stage. However, regarding minority

views, I completely respect the concept that it is impossible to go down the path of democracy without treating minority issues. The question is raised as to when the minority view becomes familiar, for in some kind of summing-up stage during the course of debate it probably becomes clear that on any particular issue the majority view is this and the minority view that....

[Feuer, interrupting] Yes, because....

[Fejti, interrupting] It is then that the manner of handling it is formulated.

[Lakatos] Yes, and....

[Feuer] And whether or not it is labeled or described as factionalizing. For this, too, is a very important thing because it has been one of the great obstacles to articulating minority opinions.

[Lakatos] Yes, well, we have spent quite a long time on minority views. I think our present-day practice tolerates minority views to a sufficient degree, and that this is, to put it mildly, visible in the work of the mass communication organs, too. At least this is what I consider to be sufficient—I would emphasize this—but I would be glad sometimes if on important issues the majority view were to appear as massively and with such support as the minority view sometimes does.

Well, we are learning this, naturally. We are not at the end of the learning curve, but I consider it a strong exaggeration to say that in Hungary today minority views do not get publicity, either orally or in publication. The picture is rather multicolored and I consider this valuable.

[Deuer] If we delineate the way in which the party's renewal is possible and in which the party itself intends to renew itself, then we get to a stage that, in addition to the inner self-organization, we list external objectives, which now, in the present situation, are primarily economic aims. What economic aims exist now? There was a time when Hungary was the country of iron and steel; there was a period when it was said that Hungary was going to be the small entrepeneur of Europe. What are the economic policy objectives which must serve as a rallying point today?

[Lakatos] I think that now, and for a good many years, it will be the stabilization program that delineates our tasks. Therefore, in the course of the party conference, too, I consider the acceptance of this program important and its further deepening in some respects essential. We should not be impatient; very little time has passed. Now this program—in addition to the fact that we have a very important interest in maintaining liquidity, in maintaining the financial balances, the internal balance—has a very important new element. There is a need to materialize the combination of developments and curbs. We have no alternative either, because we possess very few new resources. Thus, we must think in terms of reallocating resources.

[Feuer] I do not know the extent to which it will be possible to mobilize mass support for the stabilization program at present, and for other programs at a later stage, because the objective, or the promise, is hardly more than saying that for the time being much more work must be done and, even putting it mildly, that we are not going to live better.

[Fejti] Naturally, there are two periods. There is a so-called stabilization phase, through which we are living and which will not last beyond a few years. Naturally, the elements of the resurgence phase which, from whatever angle we view it, will by and large extend to the turn of the century, are already contained in this first phase.

[Feuer] You name the turn of the century as the date until which this thing can last. A great many people would urge the acceleration of this process. Is it not possible to advance more quickly

[Lakatos] How simple it would be if things could be sorted out with, as they say, a liberal amount of hot air, then we would surely turn to such methods. However, we must not deceive ourselves; we face very difficult years....

[Feuer, interrupting] Well, it is rather a decade....

[Fejti] But we still have to carry this very heavy burden for some years and we must stop the downward trends. Well, we can expect the people's mood to change when the benefit of the effort can be seen, even if this is not expressed directly in standards of living or in living conditions but in economic output—that is, if certain branches do really get going, if we are able to come out with new products, if our financial relations become more stable. Well, if in addition to this we are able to keep inflation in check, if we are able to maintain a relatively acceptable supply of goods, and if we are able to handle certain social tensions and conflicts—that is, if we are able to halt a kind of social decomposition—then I think that the majority of the people can be lined up behind such a program, the mood can be consolidated.

[Feuer] I began with the sentence: Another phase in the preparation for the national party conference has ended. The party bodies have completed the debates over the party draft stance and so have the social, political, and interest representation organizations. Now can a program result from the many proposals and additions?

[Lakatos] On Sunday the summing up of the lessons began. Next week the Politburo will review the new text of the draft stance and, according to plans, the Central Committee will meet on 10 May. In other words, the

many values the debates uncovered must be used to make the document more precise, more unequivocal, and more clear. It will not just end with this because, both in the assessment of the situation and in the formation of the program for the future, the last word must be uttered by the party conference and the delegates there.

[Feuer] Thank you very much for accepting our invitation.

Primate Discarding Policy of Supporting State

AU280905 Vienna Domestic Service in German 0500 GMT 28 Mar 88

[Karl Stipsicz report from Budapest]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] Hungary's new primate, Laszlo Paskai is cautiously dissociating himself from the controversial policy of his predecessor, who showed devotion to the state. For example, he suggested the introduction of an alternative form of service to military service. Presently, according to official figures, 158 young men are imprisoned because of conscientious objection. In addition, preliminary examinations have been initiated against 49 persons.

On this issue, the official church decidedly took the side of the state in past years. Paskai's colleagues are taking a major step forward. Certainly not without his primate's approval, the bishop of Veszprem handed over an entire catalogue of demands to Prime Minister Grosz personally. According to it, several orders, among them Jesuits and Cistercians, are to be again permitted in Hungary. The state is to tolerate the founding of religious youth associations, to facilitate access to the Hungarian mass media, and to stop promoting the Church Peace Movement which is especially friendly with the regime.

Prime Minister Grosz, who is presenting himself as the standard-bearer of glasnost in Hungary, expressed appreciation for the frank words and promised a speedy response. Regular television broadcasts of Catholic masses are planned for major religious holidays, such as Easter, Christmas, and Whitsun. The 950th anniversary of Saint Stephan's death, the king who led the unpredictable Magyars to Christianity at the turn of the millennium, is intended to be celebrated jointly by state and church. Contrary to the CSSR where the Catholic Church is able to lend political weight to their claim of more religious freedom with several hundred thousands of signatures, the Hungarian bishops are mostly acting on their own. Primate Paskai is administering a church which is in danger of becoming unimportant. The priests are too old; there are hardly any young clergymen. The struggle for material goods appears to be by far more important to the Hungarians—60 percent of whom are Catholics—than the struggle for their own Christian salvation.

The Communist party leaders of Hungary can all too well understand the desperate position of their Catholic opponents. Their members are running away from them, too. During the periodic change of membership records at the end of the year, 40,000 Hungarians had left the Communist Party.

Grosz Interviewed on County Zala Visit

LD272316 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1630 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Interview with Karoly Grosz, chairnan of the Council of Ministers, by Correspondent Gabor Bankuti, in County Zala on 27 April—recorded]

[Text] [Bankuti] Economically, what have you acquired from this tour?

[Grosz] I saw and felt that the people want to do something, to act, to seek their own opportunities, and I observed everywhere that they are awaiting our help.

[Bankuti] I felt that at times a revolver was aimed, a little, at the premier. The surface of the tax reform is too rough, still, for example, or the bureaucracy is still very great.

[Grosz] Of course, they are right.

[Bankuti] And for this reason, neither does foreign capital come in easily.

[Grosz] If you please, that is natural. They do not meet the premier every day, although, to be sure, they meet many government officials. Indeed, they relate these daily problems of theirs to other people. I consider it natural that they take advantage of the opportunity and relate them to me, as well. No matter what the concrete issue was which they raised, they all had a real core. At the most, I can say that approaching these from their own viewpoints, their own interests, they laid greater emphasis on the elements which accorded with their interests and perhaps were not in full harmony with the government's endeavors or with the general people's economic interest. Well, we should not be astonished at this. [words indistinct]

As for taxes, of course, it is good for an enterprise if it can be exempted from general turnover tax. If the government is weak, so that the enterprise can win by fighting, it is its business to do so. My business is to think over whether a possible allowance would really be in accordance with the general endeavors of the people's economy, and then I should not protest, I should not be tough, but I should advise my minister of finance and my colleagues, to think this over. If, however, it is not in accordance with this, I should resolutely resist the pressure. Well, that is the division of roles in society.

There is not enough patience, for example in the case of tax, for considering the lessons, and they are not waiting for the adjustments—perhaps they do not trust that we shall constructively and critically review, and via this modify, the practice of the first 6 months of the year. This is not primarily a matter of intent, but they are pressed by everyday economic problems. They cannot wait. However, the government cannot act in haste, because if it did so this would have unforeseeable consequences.

Otherwise, it emerged from the debates that there is a duality here. On the one side, stability and calm are demanded; and on the other side, immediate intervention and change in order to correct what in their opinion are the mistakes. Well, this is a characteristic of this period, and it will remain for a time.

[Bankuti] [words indistinct] and says: Leave me alone?

[Grosz] That is so, that also is natural. He says that the state should leave him alone, because that is how he can assert himself, and this state intervention, this bureaucratism ruins or impedes creativeness. Those, however, who are in trouble, immediately ask the senate to be more resolute, to intervene, resolve the conflicts. Well, that is how it is. Varying positions give rise to vary attitudes.

[Bankuti] However, what, after all, can be expected of the government? If I understood your words well, it draws the lessons, step by step, and...

[Grosz, interrupting] If you please, we are preparing now for a party conference, and not for a parliamentary election. For this reason, at present, in political work attention is primarily directed at preparing the party conference. Preparing the party conference cannot be identical to taking account of the problems of government work. Obviously, the first business of the party movement is to review matters of leadership style in the party, and the relationship between the party and government work is only part of this. On the other hand, party guidance also has the element of substance, which also means the substance of government work and, therefore, primarily the sphere of issues related to the economy.

However, if I have to reply to what issues the government is working on, irrespective of the party conference or irrespective of the connection with the party conference, I shall do so. We have a clear idea of what we want to do in 1988. First and foremost we should like the first quarter, which got under way favorably, to continue—in production, in trade, in management. That is what we would like. Secondly, we would like concrete decisions to be reached in the development of the reform measures. The most essential of these is the company law, which foreseeably will be submitted to Parliament in September.

We would like to go further. We would like to advance not only in the economy, but also in social policy. For this reason, at the end of the year we should like to submit to parliament the association law, which would reinforce the political aspect, the political element of this same process. And apart from this, study is being carried out on several large-scale, long-term decisions. One of these is the wages reform, which has got under way, one is the budget reform; the social policy reform, and as part of this, the new pension system, is being put to social debate, passionate debates are under way on modernizing housing management, or—I shall now adopt the KISZ terminology—on the reform of housing management, etc, etc. So, there is, here, a very clear schedule, on which we are working.

Now, in connection with this we also must think through to the end of the economic policy of this period. A working committee has been founded which is analyzing the economic policy of the period of stabilization, and we have also begun thinking through the economic policy of the period of resurgence. This, naturally, is not solely government work, it is much broader than that, it is true of the party's guiding organs, and it is true of the social organisations. We are dealing with these issues together.

[Bankuti] I know that you were just rushing to the England-Hungarian football game and I held you up. By the time our conversation is heard, the result will be known.

[Grosz] Yes. I received a very kind invitation, and as I heard, the British ambassador, a sympathetic diplomat, will be there. Representatives of other countries will also be there, several of whom are interested in the game. And I would like to take the opportunity to meet them and converse with them. I admit, I was a passionate supporter—well, I must word it in the past tense. Nowadays I have extremely little time to attend games. I willingly watch them if they are broadcast on television. Since I shall have the opportunity to meet with guests, I shall go there with a good heart and pleasure.

[Bankuti] You have mentioned that you are due to visit England.

[Grosz] Yes, I shall be going to England in the near future, at the invitation of the British prime minister. This will be the first official visit by a Hungarian premier since World War II. It is a great honor for me. I am glad and happy to go. I have said before that I am a great admirer of the British prime minister. I have read her speeches and articles, and I am also familiar with the decisions by which she has been working on the restructuring of Britain's economy. In the past they triggered great storms but the results prove that they have had a beneficial effect on the British economy. So I would like to learn—if you like—or conduct an exchange of experiences about these questions.

My hosts have planned a very rich schedule. I shall have the opportunity and possibility to meet, apart from the prime minister, the foreign minister, and to visit the Confederation of British Industry. I shall be able to hold consultations with leaders of the banking world, and they have even very kindly suggested that I should visit the Stock Exchange, which I shall be very glad and happy to do.

So they have put together an extremely rich provisional program which I am happy to undertake, and I am convinced that this visit will be extremely instructive for me.

[Bankuti] Irrespective of the result of today's game?

[Grosz] Irrespective of today's result, because I have heard, although I am no expert, that the two football teams are not in the same league. I hope that in politics I shall be a welcome guest, and I shall be going with great openness. I hope the result here will be a draw.

Government Spokesman Gives Press Conference

AU271241 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 23 Apr 88 pp 1,5

[Unattributed report on press conference given by government spokesman Rezso Banyasz: "Council of Ministers Holds Meeting—Government Established Advisory Board—Report on Talks With the Chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers and the President of the SFRY FEC"—in Budapest on 22 April]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Hungarian Radio: In a recent statement the premier said that the government had established a reform committee. Who will its members be, and what will its tasks be? My second question is as follows: Are there now people who are serving a sentence because of their refusal to do military service and will so-called alternative service be established? Finally, the idea that certain institutions would like to retroactively increase interest rates on loans for housing met with stormy reactions at the National Assembly committee. What is the government's opinion on this issue?

[Banyasz] I will begin with the third question. It is true that the aforementioned debate on the fact that several people thought that interest rates on loans received from the National Savings Bank to build or buy apartments should perhaps be increased, this debate was discussed at the government session on Friday [22 April], in the course of which a very detailed debate lasting approximately 2 hours was held on the government's new concept on housing. The government took a clear stand to the effect that retroactive measures and putting burdens on the population is alien to it. If a proposal is made on the basis of economic calculations as regards the future development of interest rates on loans to buy or build apartments, this is another matter.

As far as the Reform Committee is concerned, the present situation is that very many debates on the reform are under way in scientific workshops—in the Hungarian Academy of Sciences, the various committees, the press, and naturally in government circles, too. Their ideas and suggestions should be presented lucidly. The government thinks that there is a need for a committee which would contribute to coordinated thinking and uniform action by comprehensively summarizing the reform efforts in economic life and in the entire progress in society. I think that the Reform Committee can effectively accomplish this task. [passage omitted]

NEPSZAVA: The government's concept on housing has been discussed by the National Assembly Committee on Community Development and Environmental Protection. I would like to ask if this material is public and whether its details can be made public. My second question is as follows: Several times the trade unions have sharply citicized the safety situation in the mines. What was concluded at the government session in this respect?

[Banyasz] Concerning your first question, I do not discourage anyone from expressing any ideas on the issue of housing or the distribution of apartments. The government does not intend to prevent anyone from doing so, either. However, we would very much like to ensure that ideas which were formulated by individual experts but have not yet been made into a uniform whole, are not presented as the opinion of the government. On the basis of a very thorough debate, the government concluded that certain data will still have to be reviewed and further analyses are desirable. It is quite obvious that the burdens we place on a retired couple who live right on the subsistence level in a state-owned apartment should not be the same as those we put on a person who also lives in a state-owned apartment, but whose individual income is way above average.

The second question concerns the mining industry. The National Mining Technology Main Inspectorate has to submit annual reports to the government on the situation at the mines. It is fortunate that its recent report gave information on many favorable changes. The report states that the state of technology and safety at our mines is basically satisfactory. Compared to 1986, the number of fatal accidents in 1987 dropped by 15.6 percent, of other accidents by 7.2 percent, and—fortunately—there were fewer cases of fire and other serious operational disturbances occurred in mine shafts in 1987. It is to be regretted that, even so, 27 miners lost their lives in the mines. [passage omitted]

MTI: In the recent period one increasingly hears that small-scale artisans and retail traders are returning their business permits en masse. What is the government's opinion on this issue?

[Banyasz] It seems that the reports are somewhat exaggerated. No decrease in retail trade has been evident, for example. The reports only dealt with fluctuations which are usual at the beginning of the year. The decrease in small-scale industry has not been considerable, either. According to official data, about 13,000 small-scale artisans returned their business permits during the first 3 months of 1988, and about 6,000 artisans stopped practicing their trade temporarily. On the whole, however, all this lasted only until the middle of February. By the end of March, 11,600 new business licenses for artisans had been issued by the authorities, and so, on the basis of the data for the first quarter of 1988, the number of small-scale artisans decreased very slightly, by 1,300 people altogether. We are not happy with this, either, but there is no reason for particular concern. [passage omitted]

The Staff of the Hungarian Television Program "Ablak": Before the government session, one could hear voices urging an end to requirement for the double, that is, the permanent and temporary registration of addresses. In addition, there are quite a few cases of false registration; for example, when a tenant does not even know that his name is used illegally. Will the new measures contribute to reducing these contradictions?

[Banyasz] The practice of double registration of addresses will not be eliminated! The subject has indeed been discussed, but after appropriate deliberation the competent bodies concluded that such a step would only make matters more complicated. [passage omitted]

VASARNAPI HIREK: The government discussed a report by the Central People's Control Commission on the quality of consumer articles. I would like to know if the government concluded that the quality of consumer articles has deteriorated or improved.

[Banyasz] The situation is quite contradictory. An examination of products manufactured by the building materials, meat processing, machine, light, and chemical industries led to the conclusion that there is a greater supply of modern consumer goods that are impeccable from every point of view and which, in addition, can also meet the demand for high-quality goods. The other side of the coin is that the standard of products that make up greater proportion of the consumption and that have been on the market for a longer period of time has regrettably not improved. The quality of certain pork products, traditional building materials, and of various kinds of coal has tended to decrease. This was also the opinion of 40 percent of the buyers interviewed. [passage omitted]

Agitation Official on Openness in Politics

AU261009 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 18 Apr 88 pp 1,3

[MTI report: "Speech by Janos Berecz at the Debrecen Conference—Complete Openness Is Needed in Order To Renew the System of Political Institutions"]

[Text] The Debrecen special national conference on "Politics and Openness" which was attended by politicians, scientists, and leading journalists, continued on 16 April with the summing up of the debates held in the various sections.

Erno Lakatos, director of the MSZMP Agitation and Propaganda Department and chairman of the section on "The Interpretation and Role of Publicity in Society in the Present Stage of Socialist Construction," said that the participants in the debate urged that there should be comprehensive theoretical research in order to establish an accurate interpretation of openness in society. They said that the current domestic practices concerning political openness should undergo critical analysis and the issue of openness within the party should be given more consideration.

Academician Kalman Kulcsar, deputy secretary general of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and chairman of the section on "The System of Political Institutions and Openness in Society," presented a summary of the practical and theoretical issues that were brought up in the debate. He dwelt on structural reorganization in and the functioning of the system of political institutions, and then he analyzed theoretical issues concerning the relations between civil rights and publicity, the characteristics of self-determination, and the role of local publicity.

Tamas Palos, deputy director general of MTI and chairman of the section on "The Role of Media Openness in Our Period," stressed in connection with the debate, the interaction between reforming the system of political institutions and openness of the press.

The concluding speech was delivered by Janos Berecz, member of the MSZMP Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, after the section chairmen's summaries. In his introductory remarks, he stressed that the ideas formulated in the course of the professional debates at the conference, the proposals that had been made, and the positions people had taken could be used in many ways. Although the conference had a specialized character, the contributions to the debate also merit general attention because the participants took the present political realities into consideration in formulating their opinions.

He said that we are living in a reform period in which we have revolutionary tasks to solve. It is impossible to accomplish them without substantial and properly functioning openness. He therefore considered openness to be a great force. The role of openness increases particularly at times of reforms, and it can contribute to establishing a situation in which a sense of the need for change permeates all strata of society. Although the preparation of the program is not yet complete, action in society and the taking of measures cannot be delayed any longer. Since we are not speaking about a process that has been finalized, openness will also play a role in

preparing and implementing the reforms. In this respect he warned that openness that only deepens society's wounds, only causes self-reproach, and only exposes does not serve the cause of action and work or encourage them.

He then stressed that there can be no freedom or democracy without openness and the formulation in general terms of the national interest cannot be the prerogative of any single institution. It is necessary to represent and implement the national interest at the various levels of the system of political institutions; however, this task is at present full of conflicts of interest. This is also the reason the current system of political institutions needs to be renened so that it will contribute to our economic development and to development in general. In order to carry our the reorganization, we should grasp the opportunities inherent in openness. The closer the cooperation between political leaders and reporters, the more efficient the reorganization will be. But this cooperation can be implemented only in a partnership where confidence is mutual and where the objective and subjective conditions for the existence of confidence are established. Among the subjective conditions, Berecz mentioned both the skills required for participating in public life and, concerning the journalists, responsible conduct and professionalism.

The way the party informs public opinion is a decisive element in political openness. Berecz said in this connection that complete openness is required at present, which is a period of reorganization, of implementing the program of social and economic development, and of reconstructing the system of political institutions.

The party will continue a policy of openness which originates from responsibility to the Hungarian nation, the country, and the national minorities that live there. This policy can only be implemented in a process in which every party member takes part in the summing up of interests and the shaping of policies. This view guided the Central Committee when it tried to make the draft policy statement available to every interested person.

The existence of unlimited publicity within the party is fundamentally important from the point of view of publicity in society. For the time being, this is not being realized comprehensively: Quick and reliable information mostly flows from the members to the leading organs. The flow in the opposite direction is slower and the information is not sufficiently substantial, although the people who work in the basic organizations must be well informed in order to perform their daily duties. The appropriate information—which must be published without delay—can improve the efficiency of all party activity. While we must not keep silent about matters that concern every citizen, there can be internal party matters that concern only party members.

Speaking about information, Berecz said that in accepting their historical role in shaping the fate of the nation, party members cannot neglect their ability to affect the press by appropriate means and methods and by ideological and political influence. He also spoke about one-sided information, which has recently often been criticized. He said that this is dangerous when it conveys only dissatisfaction and also when it conveys only satisfaction.

Answering several questions from among the observations made in the course of the debate, he said that sympathetic and encouraging support from public opinion is necessary in order to reorganize the system of political institutions. New institutions which are still searching for their place are being established while everything is being reorganized. He said he thought that the establishment of a new national and political youth organization would not be beneficial because it would divide the young people, divert attention from the main tasks facing the nation by inciting political clashes, and weaken the mutual trust that is necessary for action.

At the conclusion of his speech, Janos Berecz spoke about the need to establish a new consensus. A reformed system of political institutions which can express and implement interests will have to establish this consensus day after day in the future. He also said that ideological renewal cannot mean that each specific measure will be explained from an ideological point of view. Only by making use of the opportunities inherent in press publicity is it possible to announce political and economic measures and have them accepted by the people, and this is the task of the media.

After Janos Berecz's concluding speech, Erno Lakatos thanked the organizers and contributors, and the conference concluded.

Medgyessy Addresses Student Parliament

AU271220 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 25 Apr 88 pp 1,6

[Correspondent's report on session of the Student Parliament in Veszprem on 24 April and address by Deputy Premier Medgyessy: "We Will Decide by Respecting Reality"]

[Excerpts] Some 250 delegates representing 60,000 university and college students, young teachers and workers held a conference in the Veszprem Chemical Industry University over the weekend [23-24 April].

The Youth Parliament of Higher Education was opened by Cultural Minister Bela Kopeczi on 22 April. Also present at the meeting were MSZMP Central Committee Secretary Lenard Pal, Deputy Premier Peter Medgyessy, and State Secretary Gabor Deak, chairman of the State Office for Youth and Sport Affairs. [passage omitted]

In his address, Peter Medgyessy welcomed the fact that the interests of the young people are today openly addressed and that the young people make use of the opportunity of this parliament to assert their interests. This is the way it should be because this way, such interests meet with other interests, and thus, the society is able to acquaint itself with these interests, control them, and finally, promote the assertion of these interests.

Then, Peter Medgyessy spoke about the development of the Hungarian economy since 1968 and the situation we must now face. He stressed that today, we already see clearly that the fact that we have been unable to consistently implement the reform that began in 1968 has also contributed to the development of our current problems. The role of the market, for example, only had a limited influence. In 1972, as a result of international events and internal subjective factors, the reform process came to a sudden halt. After slowing down the reform policy in 1978-1979, the economic policy showed that we can achieve faster progress, development, and the elimination of accumulated tensions only by carrying out further reforms. Unfortunately, as a result of various circumstances, this recognition was not accompanied by a series of efficient actions.

In 1982, the Hungarian economy reached an extremely critical situation and faced many dangers. With strict "hand-operated" [kezi vezerleses] methods, we succeeded in overcoming the critical phase, but this style of direct interference could not lead to a final solution. On the basis of initial results, the economic policy program of the 13th MSZMP Congress formulated an exaggeratedly optimistic concept which the practice of recent years did not justify. Thus, today society is forced to live with a considerably difficult heritage, our tasks have accumulated, and we must create the conditions for development. We are aware of the fact that accelerating the inevitable changes—for example, the restructuring—is accompanied by conflicts which are quite difficult to handle because we are not yet really prepared for them. We must, however, accept the fact that we can achieve stabilization and development only by settling and accepting such conflicts.

Peter Medgyessy said that this conclusion is also valid for education and for solving the accumulated tasks in education. Here too, we can do nothing but decide, according to priority, on what tasks to use our resources deriving from the available funds. According to Peter Medgyessy, the most important task is to improve the educational conditions in the universities and colleges: supply of adequate instruments, educational tools, libraries, and other materials; the next task is to settle the students' social conditions. Peter Medgyessy also mentioned something that was brought up at the students' parliament, namely that the distribution and use of various student allowances—like, for example, students' cafeteria—is both irrational and wasteful, according to the students themselves. All this must be urgently reviewed and changed in order to reduce expenses and improve the supply.

Answering questions, Peter Medgyessy said that, under the present conditions of society, the government can agree to maintain the real value of the budget allocations for education, but only if the economy will perform positively this year. There is no possibility of increasing the budget allocations for education and we must face this fact. In conclusion, Peter Medgyessy spoke about the tasks and responsibilities of the government and stressed that the decisions to be taken in the coming period will also be characterized by respect for reality.

KISZ Official Assesses Session

AU271647 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 26 Apr 88 p 3

["M.A." interview with KISZ Central Committee Secretary Imre Nagy: "KISZ Central Committee Secretary on the Higher Education Parliament—What Exactly Happened in Veszprem?"—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] The national Youth Parliament of Higher Education concluded its session on 24 April. There were rather contradictory opinions and reports about the conference on the various stands taken by the participating 250 university and college representatives. We asked Imre Nagy who took part in the entire meeting about the debate. [passage omitted]

[Question] According to MTI, you said at the plenary session which followed the meeting that some circles took a stand against the KISZ proposal and their demagogic arguments caused the participants to side with them in demanding opportunities for other youth and political organizations to emerge in the higher education....

[Nagy] MTI conveyed my statement quite incorrectly by failing to understand its essence. The delegates did not vote on the above-mentioned KISZ proposal because this proposal was overwhelmingly supported by the delegates who represented 66,000 students and teachers. There was a separate debate and vote just on the attribute "political" in the sentence about the need to establish more youth organizations. A group did indeed take a stand opposing our opinion, thus violating the compromise achieved in the preliminary section debates. Nor is it true that they used demagogic arguments because they did not argue at all, they only submitted their proposals. Finally, the parliament accepted their motion on the right to establish youth organizations of a political nature too.

[Question] Does KISZ considered this decision by the university and college students a defeat?

[Nagy] Not a defeat nor a success. Our opinion, of course, continues to be that the young people demand the establishment of self-governing organizations from below, and that is the decisive point. We welcome and support such organizations if they are based on a constitutional platform and operate by accepting socialism. We took the same position in our meeting with the PPF heads in April. These are not direct political organizations, but it is only natural for them to engage in politics too.

Environmental Protection Association Established

AU271130 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 25 Apr 88 p 3

[Interview with University Professor Ferenc Antoni, chairman of the Hungarian Environmental Protection Association, by Attila Vodros: "Following Stormy Founding Meeting—We Are Not Angry But Active"—date and place not given]

[Excerpts] The Hungarian Environmental Protection Association held its founding meeting on 22 April. [passage omitted]

[Vodros] Do you think that the establishment of this association was delayed for too long?

[Antoni] The association was organized from below, and it has many thousands of members who have already formed local environmental protection groups, patrols, and organizations. The cooperating organizations—the city planners and bird-watchers also contribute a lot, but we cannot disregard the so-called alternative associations and the environmental protection groups established within the KISZ and the Federation of Technical and Scientific Associations either. [passage omitted]

[Vodros] The founding meeting was quite lively and even stormy sometimes. How do you explain this?

[Antoni] The delegates came from the various parts of the country and represented various environmental protection groups. By this I mean that the environmental protection in Hungary is as multifaceted as the subject itself. [passage omitted]

[Vodros] What conclusions did you draw from the debate?

[Antoni] It is clear that we have to find a way to work together. The diversity of the Hungarian environmental protection movement is a guarantee for a healthy dialogue. The steering committee of our association must conduct such a dialogue with members and non-members alike in order to solve as many environmental protection tasks as possible. The steering committee has only 55 members at present, but we plan to increase it to 75 members. We are still only at the beginning. [passage omitted]

Official Views Situation of Romanian Citizens

AU271524 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 23 Apr 88 p 7

[Report by Katalin Szoghy: "National Central Office for Alien Registration—Many People Are Only Looking for Medical Treatment" under the rubric: "Who Is Providing Help, Where, and How?—On the Situation of Romanian Citizens Temporarily Staying in Hungary"]

[Text] Lieutenant Colonel Dr Karoly Nagy, director of the National Central Office for Alien Registration [KEOKH] at the Ministry of Interior, said that many people exaggerate when they put the number of Romanian citizens trying to make a living in Hungary at a figure that differs from the statistics available in our official records. The Hungarian churches are not aware of any higher figure than the one KEOKH has, either; and it does not seem likely that there are many who have not yet registered with the KEOKH. One should know that it is in the basic interests of the people who move to Hungary to register, because everyone who has registered so far received a temporary residence permit practically immediately.

Probably one of the reasons for the exaggerated estimates is the extension of residence permits granted to several thousand Romanian citizens who intend to stay in Hungary for prolonged periods, occasionally several months, for acceptable reasons, an extension which is in accordance with the Hungarian-Romanian agreement on visa-free travel. When these people conclude their visits or medical treatment, they will return home.

The other obvious reason for the exaggerated estimates is the fact that an average of 250 Romanian citizens a day come to the public relations office of Budapest City Council to inquire about the conditions for settling and finding work in Hungary. However, in the end only very few people commit themselves to applying for a temporary residence permit.

Every applicant is precisely briefed on the fact that the Hungarian state considers itself committed to providing the necessary help to people who are in a very difficult situation and who apply for it. However, this does not change the fact that these people are Romanian citizens. In the spirit of the interstate agreement on eliminating dual citizenship, a request for naturalization can only be accepted if the applicant is able to provide a document attesting that he has been released from his commitments to Romania.

What also follows from this is that those who stay in Hungary cannot even get married without the permission of the Romanian authorities; in addition, because of their status as foreign citizens and according to the

Hungarian Constitution, they cannot exercise their political rights in Hungary. The families of a considerable number of Romanians are still in Romania, so they are also briefed on the fact that there is very little hope of family reunification.

For the time being the approximately 2,500 temporary residence permits are extended every 1 or 2 months. It would perhaps be better for those who stay in Hungary to apply for a permanent residence permit because with it they can obtain loans from the National Savings Bank. Almost half of the people in question have indicated that they would like to move on to a third country; however, there is no legal possibility for this and, therefore, their situation is quite uncertain.

People who come from beyond our borders have no difficulty in finding work. Most of the people applying for jobs are young unskilled workers. Skilled workers are in the minority, and occasionally they have difficulty if they cannot prove their qualifications in accordance with requirements.

Kadar, Nemeth Greet Romanian Counterparts

AU260828 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 24 Apr 88 p 5

[Cable from Janos Kadar, MSZMP general secretary, Karoly Nemeth, president of the Presidential Council, and Karoly Grosz, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic, to President Nicolae Ceausescu and Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu]

[Text] To Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, and Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania

On behalf of the MSZMP Central Committee, the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, and the Hungarian people we express our thanks for the greetings and good wishes extended on our homeland's national holiday.

In turn, we also believe it is necessary to make common efforts and work with great responsibility to develop relations between our countries and peoples. We wish the neighboring Romanian people fresh successes in building the socialist society.

Janos Kadar, MSZMP general secretary; Karoly Nemeth, president of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic; Karoly Grosz, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Hungarian People's Republic

Daily Comments on Ryzhkov's Visit

AU280743 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 22 Apr 88 p 1

[Editorial: "A Dynamic Dialogue"]

[Text] The series of Hungarian-Soviet talks—and it is no exaggeration to say that this time they constituted an exchange of opinions—held on the occasion of Nikolay Ryzhkov's official and friendly visit to Budapest during the first days of this week proved to be rich in both principles and concrete facts.

This was the first time that the chairman of the Presidium of the USSR Council of Ministers and member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo visited Hungary in this capacity, but he was perceptibly at home in the Hungarian environment which, in his opinion, is characterized by a reform process which started long ago, by its openness to the world, and by its quest for new solutions. This transpired from his standpoints at the press conference, and from a speech—which did not require notes prepared in advance—that he delivered in the course of his visit to the Hungarian Economic Chamber. "We had a dynamic dialogue," he said. Karoly Grosz said of Nikolay Ryzhkov: "His intellectual approach and analytical methods are closely related to our deliberations which precede the party conference."

To mention just a few concrete results of his visit, an agreement was reached on maintaining the present level of our turnover of goods—which has been been threatened by the continuing relatively low price of oil on the world market—and on expanding our turnover of goods according to the opportunities. At the same time, we were given a confirmed promise that there will be no change in the quantity of Soviet energy-bearing and raw materials available to us. The two sides reached agreement on extending the validity of three agreements on intergovernmental cooperation that had been effective until 1990 (these agreements concern aluminum production, chemical industry products for agriculture, and vegetable and fruit cultivation). They also agreed on working out 13 additional cooperation projects. We signed an agreement which contributes to extending the exchange of domestic goods, and we reached preliminary agreement on eliminating the obstructions to joint car production. Indicating the intensity of the preliminary debates on this issue, Ryzhkov made the following suggestion: "Let us not dwell on the issue of who made more concessions." On the basis of the evaluation that development will be guaranteed by broader cooperation between enterprises, a decision was made to jointly work out the necessary economic, organizational, and legal regulations to ensure that this cooperation is expanded.

Some of these agreements are directly related to integration within CEMA, like, for example, the agreement on car production, in which Bulgaria also participates. The other agreements indicate issues which also emerge in multilateral cooperation, like the issue of cooperation

between enterprises and in the area of environmental protection. At the Budapest talks that have just been concluded there was agreement that it is not necessary to wait for integrated regulation on these issues. Future decisions can and should be anticipated by practices developed in the course of our bilateral relations. There was agreement in principle that, in addition to planning, cooperation cannot exist without market elements and the assertion of the relations between goods and prices. From the dynamic dialogue concluded this week in Budapest it clearly transpired that internal mechanisms have an effect on the development of the relations. For this reason alone, it is necessary to intensively study the models used in some socialist countries, models which will inevitably change in the future.

GDR's Hager Begins Visit 27 Apr

LD280340 Budapest MTI in English
1715 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Budapest, April 27 (MTI)—At the invitation of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party the delegation of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, headed by Kurt Hager member of the Political Committee and secretary of the Central Committee arrived to Budapest on Wednesday. At the Ferihegy Airport Lenard Pal, HSWP CC secretary was present on the arrival of the guests. Karl-Heinz Lugenheim, ambassador of the German Democratic Republic to Budapest was also present.

Polish PRON Delegation Arrives in Budapest

LD272240 Budapest MTI in English
1652 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Budapest, April 27 (MTI)—On Wednesday at the invitation of the National Council of the Hungarian People's Patriotic Front the delegation of the Polish PRON (Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth) arrived in Budapest. The delegation is headed by Stanislaw Ciosek, general secretary of PRON and secretary of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers' Party.

At the Ferihegy airport the delegation was seen [as received] by Imre Pozsgay, general secretary of the National Council of the Patriotic People's Front. Tadeus Czechowicz, the ambassador of the Polish People's Republic to Budapest was also present. The negotiations started on Wednesday afternoon at the Patriotic Front's office.

Austria To Give Hungarian Goods Preference

AU271425 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian
26 Apr 88 p 1

[Excerpts] According to a short report on 22 April, the Austrian Parliament has passed a law which will include Hungary among those countries which are given preferencial treatment by Austrian customers. [passage omitted]

Austria is the first European country to give Hungary this preferential treatment but other countries are expected to do so before long. [passage omitted]

When the duty on Hungarian industrial goods is decreased by 50 percent, and on light industry products by 65 percent, we can expect our chemical machine and light industry products to be more competitive in Austrian markets, and our current distorted export structure, which does not reflect the structure of the Hungarian economy, to improve. The law, however, only affects a few of our agricultural and food products.

The Austrian law will come into force 1 July 1988.

PZPR Politburo 26 Apr Session Communique

LD271917 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1700 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] As announced, here is the text of the communique of yesterday's meeting of the Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee:

The Politburo of the PZPR Central Committee acquainted itself with the nationwide preparations for the Labor Day celebrations. They are taking place with great involvement of the party, trade union, and social aktivs in workplaces. They show that 1 May has deep roots in Polish working class tradition. The Labor Day celebrations are traditionally preceded by numerous voluntary work projects—civic and production—often of great social and economic significance. The spring campaign to tidy up towns, the countryside, and housing estates is also bringing tangible effects. The Politburo expressed thanks for the civic stance of all participants in the 1 May deeds.

This year's 1 May celebrations come at an important time for our country and society. The fundamental stage of restructuring and reforming the economy and the profound transformations democratizing social and political life have begun. These plans can be implemented only by joint effort and activity with the solidarity of all Poles, in the spirit of national accord. These activities should be accompanied by a sense of national responsibility for the results of the transformations being carried out. They will determine our nation's place in the contemporary world. Those people will meet in processions, at rallies, and fetes, wanting to demonstrate their devotion to the worker tradition and their consistent will to act in the spirit of socialist renewal, improve living conditions, and put Poland on the road to lasting development.

The Politburo assesses as correct the organizational preparations for the celebration of Labor Day. It stresses the varied nature of the parades, rallies, and demonstrations and the rich program of numerous accompanying events. It points out the (?bright) and more economical decorations and other elements essential to the organization of demonstrations.

The Politburo heard a government report on the economic situation and the implementation of tasks in the first quarter of this year. It examined the problems and conclusions emerging from this analysis. the quantitative economic results achieved in the first quarter of this year are favorable. Production and foreign trade turnover have risen. There has been a certain improvement in management efficiency. This is, to a great extent, the result of this year's mild winter and the extra working day in the first quarter. This creates, in conditions of a more regular work rhythm of the economy, the correct basis for getting good results for the whole year.

The management results in the first quarter, the Politburo stresses, cannot, however, be treated in a simplistic way. The situation is varied. Behind the positive general pic.ure are concealed a number of weaknesses and disturbances [zaklocenie].

The economy is (?beset) by difficulties with supplies and tensions resulting particularly from the country's difficult payments situation due to the foreign debt.

The Politburo finds particulaly concerning the decrease in supplies of some industrial goods to the market, particularly of many consumer durables and the big drop in stocks of those goods as well as the rate of increase in the money incomes of the population, which exceed the plan's assumptions and are not commensurate with the price increase index. This does not allow market stabilization and threatens to intensifiy the inflationary processes.

The Politburo also is worried by the rapid increase in the financial assets of some enterprises, disproportionately to production increases. This weakens the enterprises' interest in increasing supply, weakens the economic reform strictures, and makes earnings disproportionate with results of work.

Ascertaining these irregularities, the Politburo has charged the government with urgently carrying out a profound analysis of their causes and nature. It has authorized the government to take radical decisions to stop unfavorable, spontaneous processes in order to protect the mechanisms of the reform and its expected social effects.

The Politburo stressed that it is of key importance to the continued progress of reform for the projected wage-price ratios to be adhered to. This is also hampered by some producers who take advantage of their monopolistic status to introduce unjustified price increases. The same is true of pressure for wage increases divorced from production results, which are also divorced from the principles of social justice.

The problems must be treated with great consideration and discernment as one of the central and at the same time most difficult problems of transforming the economic mechanisms. The nonobservance of such an approach will bring about very painful social results, as we already know from the past. It is emphasized that enterprises must consistently adhere to the fundamental principle of self-financing—covering expenditures by sales as well as generating profits. Provisions of the law for improvements in the economic management of state enterprises and on insolvency should be decisively applied to inefficient enterprises and—on the basis of accepted criteria—the liquidation of enterprises which continue to be inefficient should be accelerated. All legal measures should be applied to them without delay.

The Politburo expects the government to take decisive measures in the desired directions. All cells of the state and economic administration, the Politburo emphasies, must treat with consideration arguments and misunderstandings which could be the sources of conflict. The sources of unnecessary tensions are often local matters which can quickly be solved but which are ignored or sluggishly handled. The solving or aleviation of these problems in accord with the law and principles of reform, should take place in very close cooperation with the trade unions. The Politburo emphasies that the tasks included in the program for the implementation of the second stage of reform are being carried out consistently and on schedule; however, this still has not had a direct and advantageous influence on the market situation, and thus has not drawn a positive public response. The Politburo recommends that the activities to popularize the experiences of leading enterprises with the best results be accelerated.

That was a communique of the POLISH PRESS AGENCY on a meeting of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the PZPR.

Strike Continues at Lenin Steelworks 27 Apr

Negotiations 'Still Under Way'

LD271155 Warsaw PAP in English
1128 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Warsaw, April 27—As we reported yesterday, work stoppages linked with wage postulates were taking place in certain departments of the Lenin Steelworks in Krakow.

The local daily GAZETA KRAKOWSKA reports today that talks between the plant's management and the negotiating group were still under way at the time of closing today's issue of the paper.

Walesa Pledges Solidarity Support

LD271219 Hamburg DPA in German
1137 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Warsaw, (DPA)—The chairman of the banned trade union, Solidarity, Lech Walesa, on Wednesday promised the strikers in Nowa Huta full support in their struggle to secure the living standard of the working population. In a statement given to Western correspondents he said that Solidarity has for months been pointing out the lack of consistency of the Polish leadership in the efforts to improve the economic situation.

The growing feeling of injustice and hopelessness is making itself felt in strikes like the one now in Nowa Huta. Essential reforms cannot be replaced by price increases and a lowering of the living standard of the population. A new policy is now necessary. The population expects the readmission of Solidarity and structural changes in the exrecising of power.

Combine Director Interviewed

LD271538 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish
1400 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Today's GAZETA KRAKOWSKA publishes a report on a work stoppage which took place yesterday at several plants at the Lenin combine. Our Krakow correspondent, Tadeusz Kwasniak, asked the steelworks director for an interview.

[Kwasniak] On Tuesday, 26 April, work stoppages took place in some departments of the Lenin steelworks. I am talking to the combine's director general, (Eugeniusz Podkowka).

[(Podkowka)] Indeed, they have taken place at the slabbing mill department, the cold-rolling mill, and the enigneering plant. The principal postulates concern pay rises, and that is what they amount to, for the most part. Talks have been held with the representative negotiating the matter, at both the directorate and plant-managements levels.

[Kwasniak] Who is representing the steelworkers in these talks?

[(Podkowka)] Which steelworkers do you mean? All workers. We, too, are steelworkers.

[Kwasniak] Who is representing the strikers in these talks?

[(Podkowka)] The strikers are represented by members of the workforce; they consider themselves to be representatives of the workforce. They do not represent the trade union institution or the employees' council, although the trade union organization and the employees' council officially raised many of the components of the postulates.

[Kwasniak] That means they have supported these demands?

[(Podkowska)] Well, they have supported them in the sense of pay increases, but I believe that, in the trade union statement, for example, the pay rises are in line with what the management proposes.

[Kwasniak] Director, what are the prospects for resolving of this issue as of today, Wednesday afternoon?

[(Podkowka)] We are doing everything to remove our differences, to explain the realistic attitude of the mamagement of the combine on this matter. We are counting on a (?realistic) attitude to this stance, taking into consideration the realities in our combine and in Poland as a whole. We also are counting on the understanding of the amount of losses being caused to our economy with

each hour of the stoppage. Those who are involved in production and know the value of our products and that our products (?are eagerly awaited by our customers) are best aware of this fact.

Solidarity Threatens Further Strikes

AU271635 Paris AFP in English
1624 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Warsaw, April 27 (AFP)—Local leaders of the banned Solidarity trade union have threatened to call a strike Friday at the Stolowa Wola steelworks, central Poland, unless their wage demands are met, union sources said Wednesday.

The strike threat at the Stolowa Wola steelworks, which employ 25,000 workers, comes amid reports that another strike this time at the Lenin steelworks at Nowa Huta, in southern Poland, hardened Wednesday with close to 70 per cent of the 30,000 work force downing tools.

In Stolowa Wola, a 15-man Solidarity committee, which is not recognized by the authorities or management, has called for wage increases of 20,000 zlotys (30 dollars) and the reinstatement of two workers, both of them Solidarity activists, who were sacked last week after calling a meeting of workers at the plant.

In Nowa Huta, a strike committee began negotiations with management late Tuesday but talks were adjourned early Wednesday without agreement. Steelworkers there were demanding pay rises of 12,000 zlotys (20 dollars) per month and a pledge of no victimization.

Since February 1, the Polish Government has introduced wide-ranging price increases for basic commodities — up by an average 40 per cent for food and cigarettes, 46 per cent for alcohol, 50 per cent for rents, public transportation and postal services, 60 per cent for petrol, 100 per cent for gas and electricity and 200 per cent for coal.

PAP Criticizes Walesa Statement

LD271713 Warsaw PAP in English
1629 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Warsaw, April 27—The REUTER agency reported yesterday that, after leaving a reception at the Norwegian Embassy, Lech Walesa told reporters that "the situation in Poland is getting hotter and hotter. Anything can happen anyplace".

This is not the first time, after a reception at a Western embassy, when Walesa has said things in this spirit and like the legendary Greek prophetess Cassandra prophesized the worst. There is no doubt, whatsoever, that such statements are intended to incite social unrest. Welesa would once again like to surface on the wave of the mucky water in which he feels like a fish.

Warsaw TV Reports Strike

LD271729 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1545 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Nowa Huta—A strike is continuing in four departments of the Lenin Steelworks in Krakow. [video shows the main gate with a large sign "Lenin Steelworks," then an aerial view showing some buildings, with no sign of people, and next an empty streetcar passing]

The steelworks workers are being represented at the negotiations with the management by representatives of individual departments which refused to work. They are demanding higher pay. The strikers and their demands are supported by the Trade Union organizations.

Walesa Urges 'Full Support'

AU271801 Paris AFP in English
1743 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Excerpt] Warsaw, April 27 (AFP)—Local leaders of the banned Solidarity trade union have threatened to call a strike Friday at the Stolowa Wola steelworks, central Poland, unless their wage demands are met, union sources said Wednesday.

The strike threat at the Stolowa Wola steelworks, which employ 25,000 workers, comes amid reports that another strike this time at the Lenin steelworks at Nowa Huta, in southern Poland, hardened Wednesday with close to 70 per cent of the 30,000 work force downing tools.

Former Solidarity leader Lech Walesa on Wednesday called on the population to give their "full support" to the strikers, who are struggling to "protect the standard of living."

In a statement to AFP, the Nobel peace prize laureate called on Poles to "put pressure" on the government in a bid to get its austerity policy dropped. [passage omitted]

Warsaw Reports on Talks

LD271851 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1730 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] On 26 and 27 April this year a proportion of the workforce employed in certain sections of the Lenin Steelworks Metallurgical Combine stopped work in connection with pay demands. These pertained, above all, to increased pay and hazardous conditions allowances. It should be noted that no use had been made of other forms of protest and that regulations provided for by the laws in force had not been adhered to prior to the commencement of this action.

When they received word that protest action had started, managements of work places and the management of the combine entered into talks with a group representing certain sections. During the course of the talks, the group

was familiarized with the combine's financial situation and with what the combine's management and the authorities are doing to rectify the situation.

All the decisions on pay that have been possible within the framework of the system in force have been made, after being subjected to negotiations.

Despite recognizing that steelworkers' labor is onerous, it is beyond the financial scope of the combine and of the country's current financial situation to make decisions that exceed planned settlements which currently represent an average pay increase of more than 50 percent over 1987 levels.

Stalowa Wola Not on Strike

LD272015 Warsaw PAP in English
1855 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Warsaw, April 27—The manager of the Stalowa Wola Steelworks, Ryszard Kapusta, told PAP that reports spread by Western news agencies about the plant under his management were untrue.

It was reported, among other things, that a rally, attended by several thousand emplyees, took place. In reality there was no such rally. A worker from a group of people walking along a street inside the plant read a declaration demanding a 20,000 zloty wage increase. The declaration was not adopted. There exist specified ways of settling wage issues in the steelworks.

Disciplinary measures were applied to two employees for breaking the rules, in accordance with the labour code.

The crew is working normally, there are no stoppages, labor productivity is normal, Kapusta said. He added that the plant was flooded by telephone and Telex inquiries which hindered work.

PAP: Walesa Organizing Strikes

LD272037 Warsaw PAP in English
1958 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Warsaw, April 27: In a report sent from Warsaw this afternoon about a strike action at the Lenin Steelworks REUTER said that Walesa spent all-day today on the telephone calling activists of the banned "Solidarnosc" in the Wroclaw, Szczecin and Gdansk regions and told them to organize strikes. He called for strikes to thus exert pressure on the authorities aimed at carrying out reforms and improving the economic situation.

Walesa let himself be known in Poland seven years ago as an organizer of strikes, the negative impact of which is felt in Poland to this day. The working people in Poland know very well that strikes do not produce prosperity nor do they help reforms. Thus, one is not surprised by REUTERS' assessment that despite Walesa's calls the rest of Poland seemed quiet.

PAP: Management Improves Situation

LD272200 Warsaw PAP in English
2112 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Krakow, April 27: Some of the worker crews in a few departments of the Lenin Steelworks refused to work on April 26-27, making pay postulates, primarily concerning pay increases and extra cushioning money. Before the action was taken, however, no use had been made of other forms of protest nor had principles provided by the law been observed.

Having learnt about the start of a protest action, department managements and the managers of the steelworks examined the postulates against the backdrop of the steelworks' financial situation and took measures to improve the situation.

Pay decisions feasible under the binding systemic solutions have been subject to negotiations and have been taken. Adopting decision which exceed the proposed solutions, despite the recognition for the hard steelworker's labour, goes beyond the steelworks' financial possibilities and the country's current economic situation.

UPI View of Solidarity Decried

LD272214 Warsaw PAP in English
2058 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Warsaw, April 27—In its dispatch from Poland today, the UPI agency reports on pay-motivated tensions and conflicts, including the strike at the Lenin steelworks.

The agency makes use of the occasion to recall the memorable events of eight years ago which resulted in the signing of the August agreements followed by the creation of the self-governing "Solidarnosc" union.

The UPI clearly regrets to write that "Solidarnosc" tried to organize its own May Day ceremonies in Poland's major towns since 1982 but all of them were torpedoed.

It is a pity that the UPI has not recalled how "Solidarnosc" ceased to be a trade union and why it was banned. Should the agency do so, it would turn out that in 1981 "Solidarnosc", while still operating legally, called on Polish workers to boycott May Day parades.

The then "Solidarnosc" leader Walesa appealed to workers to go out fishing not to take part in May Day parades. It is, thus, hard to explain today's sentiment for the workers' holiday when one calls to organize illegal demonstrations.

Police Summon Strike Leaders

AU280738 Paris AFP in English
0729 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Warsaw, April 28 (AFP)—Police Thursday ordered in for questioning eight leaders of the ongoing strike at the Lenin steelworks at Nowa Huta in southern Poland, the wife of one of them said.

The summons followed a warning by the government of "radical measures" to end the strike over pay and conditions at the giant steelworks which began Tuesday.

The wife of a member of the strike committee said police had come to her home at first light with a summons to her husband to go to the central police station in Nowa Huta.

The other seven members of the committee had received similar orders, she said.

A reliable source said earlier that a second round of talks aimed at ending the strike broke down Wednesday evening after two hours of "heated debate".

The main sticking points were strikers' demands to have pay increases for medical staff at the plant linked to the national scale, and to have social welfare benefits extended to cover retired workers, a claim the management said was not within its competence.

The strikers are also demanding pay rises of 12,000 zlotys (20 dollars) per month and a pledge of no victimization.

PAP Reports on Bydgoszcz Transport Strike

LD271542 Warsaw PAP in English
1311 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Warsaw, April 27—A dispute between employees of municipal transportation and voivodship authorities about wages and the social conditions of work has occurred in Bydgoszcz, northern Poland.

Differences of opinion, and even conflicts, are not something extraordinary in greater concentrations of employees. Rules of handling such cases have been worked out and they are abided by in the social interest in a majority of countries.

Legal regulations covering the solution of disputes in enterprises have been also worked out in Poland in recent years.

On the basis of these regulations, the postulates of the transport employees are currently being reviewed by the Ministry of Transportation and the Federation of Municipal Transportation Employees Trade Unions with concerned voivodships taking part. There are conditions for these disputes to be solved on a compromise basis. The solution of the dispute can come about after appropriate financial means, at the disposal of respective voivodships, are found. The municipal authorities will have to decide now what expenditures will have to be cut from the municipal budget to gain the additional payments for the transport employees.

These are normal dilemmas of economic decisions in the conditions of the 2nd stage of economic reform in Poland.

For example, employees of the Warsaw Municipal Transportation Service received additional wage rises at the cost of other expenditures from the metropolitan budget. Similar decision can also be made in other cities in accordance with the principle of the increased self-government of regional authorities. The people's councils will answer for these decisions to the voters.

Such solutions of employee conflicts in Poland are legal. On the other hand, ignorance of the law, which protects the wider social interest is inpermissable in any civilized country.

The extortion by way of an illegal strike of economically unjustified wage increases, which solely fuel the inflationary spiral, hits out at the interests of a given city, as well as the whole country, thus at the interests of the striking employees themselves. It causes anarchy in the whole financial-economic system, making the realization of the reform impossible.

Voivodship Must Cover Losses

LD271836 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1730 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] The Presidium of the Voivodship People's Council [WRN] in Bydgoszcz has received material for its next meeting, which will be devoted to the allocation of the budget surplus. The Bydgoszcz voivoda acquainted presidium members with the content of the agreement with the trade unions of the Voivodship Transport Enterprise, which concerns the implementation of the pay agreements that constitute the source of the conflict that occurred. the financial consequences of the compromise adopted by the voivodship authorities amount to a sum of about 1.5 billion zloty per annum. The WRN presidium made it binding on the voivoda to present proposals for covering the additional expenditures, taking into account the following sources: examination of the price of tickets; reducing the enterprise's costs; relinquishing or postponing the implementation of some important social and investment tasks.

Warsaw TV Panel Views Transport Strikes

LD272029 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
1806 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] The background to the strike by city transport employees in Bydgoszcz and Inowroclaw will be discussed by guests invited to the studio by Adam Bronikowski.

[Bronikowski] Ladies and gentlemen, as you already are aware, as you already know from the press, radio, and television reports, the city transport in Bydgoszcz and Inowroclaw came to a halt on Monday affecting trams and buses in Bydgoszcz and buses in Inowroclaw. Problems with pay were the cause, the main reason for the strike by the voivodship transport enterprise [WPK] personnel.

We shall discuss these issues, we shall talk of how to prevent such situations and of the problems the city transport fares. Taking part in our discussion will be Tomasz Gliwa, Bydgoszcz deputy voivoda, and Janusz Kaminski, minister of transport, navigation, and communications. In our Lodz studio are representatives of the Federation of Trade Unions of City Transport Employees: Chairman Wieslaw Gicel and Deputy Chairman Jozef Drukier.

Let us start perhaps, by recalling the events. Mr Voivoda, how did this strike happen?

[Gliwa] Discussions on pay have been going on for some years now. Each time the WPK somehow lagged behind comparable enterprises elsewhere in the country—comparable in terms of their size, vehicle pool, establishment, and so forth.

[Bronikowski] Mr Voivoda, you were aware of the situation, of the fact that a certain clash was brewing between the workforce and the fundamental body [organ zalozycielski], the Bydgoszcz voivoda. Well, what did you do, what action did you take?

[Gliwa] Action to eliminate these differences, althouth pay differences between voivodships and between large cities must exist. It cannot be that everyone gets the same, since this would be against the reform.

[Unidentified speaker] Mr Editor, I completely share this view, but I would like to suggest that comparable enterprise situated in large conurbations ought to pay more or less the same, since they perform similar social functions. The founding body was completely aware of things and we did settle certain matters to the extent to which the regulations and financial scope of the voivodship office allowed us to.

[Bronikowski] Yet the strike did take place. It ended with the signing of an agreement, as is known. What kind of agreement was it?

[Gliwa] Well, I would just like to return to another aspect here. During the past 2 months our fundamental body was engaged in broad consultations, or negotiations predominantly on pay matters.

The aim of that was simply to define financial principles and to estimate the wages bill of that enterprise. On Wednesday last week the WPK Trade Union signed an agreement with the management. As the founding body we came to the conclusion that at that point we had reached a certain stage in solving the pay dispute in that enterprise. However, this was not the case. I would like to emphasize that what happened on Monday was a form of protest which was in fact unacceptable. It surprised the public and caused some inconvenience. We think that this is not the way to solve disputes, simply, as the Law on Trade Unions and the regulations in force define this. However, what has happened has happened. Transport in Bydgoszcz and in Inowroclaw, as you said, ceased to function and that caused extraordinary inconvenience in fact in the life of these two cities.

[Bronikowski] Yes, but an agreement was signed. You did not answer my question. An agreement was signed. What does it concern? What is this agreement about?

[Gliwa] The agreement concenrs pay issues. In this agreement which was negotiated,as the result of talks between the trade union and the fundamental body, a rise of z15 in the wage rates, which was included in the pay agreement of that enterprise, was negotiated.

[Gicel] Many misconceptions concerning the role of trade unions in this conflict have arisen in the country in relation to the dispute. In connection with this, I would like to quote at least briefly the stance of the OPZZ [National Trade Union Accord]. The trade unions are of the opinion that the protest actions at the Bydgoszcz WPK led by the board of the NSZZ [Independent Self-Governing Trade Union] of the WPK employees are legal. Their legality is confirmed by the fact that the agreement was signed by the union chairman and the deputy voivoda. The federation also acted according to the law.

[Kaminski] Whether the events in Bydgoszcz—let us call them that—were formally legal or not, we are, perhaps, in agreement here with the opinion that the manner and course of conducting the Bydgoszcz affair was in fundamental breach of legal regulations, which precisely define the way in which such matters should be settled by both sides.

On the other hand, if it is a question of the dispute which was reported to the government on 6 April, that matter was analyzed by us, we gave a reply to the federation, we analyzed all the possibilities, and tomorrow we are going to sit round the table to analyze what can be done to improve the financial condition of the municipal transport enterprises.

[Bronikowski] What are the principles of the functioning of municipal transport in Poland generally and the costs of their functioning?

[Kaminski] (?I think) it would be good to look at that matter on a national scale. Perhaps several indicators and gauges will give you, Mr Editor and our viewers, an idea as to the procedure and the manner in which the financing of municipal transport is organized in Poland.

Transport is a very widespread organization and includes in its activities as many as 266 towns occupied by nearly 18 million citizens, and daily transports about 25 million passengers. Naturally most of these passengers are workers going to and from work, on school children, and normal citizens carrying out their shopping, touristic, and other needs.

The financing of that enormous enterprise functioning in nearly 90 independent organizations in Poland is effected as follows: income from the sale of tickets and activities carried out by enterprises hardly cover 30 percent of the costs of the activities of these enterprises. The remaining shortfalls are covered by a subsidy from the regional budget—about 70 percent. operational costs are covered by the regional budget as well as by central subsidy, which in the form of a subsidy of 70 percent of the value of the stock, which is quite simply transfered for the benefit of these enterprises. In order to give you some idea how large they are, I'll give several figures. The maintenance of municipal transport in Poland costs us about, in 1988, 150 billion, and thus hardly 30 percent of that is earned by enterprises from the sale of tickets. Hence the simple conclusion; the cost, the price of a sold municipal transport ticket hardly covers 30 - 40 percent of the costs incurred by the enterprise. And therefore we must consider very seriously the matter of the profitability of these enterprises and the matter of the prices policy, which forms and creates the prices of services sold.

[Browikowski] Mr Minister, good. We'll come back to that. I would like to ask you, as you said that municipal transport is financed to a considerable degree by the regional budget...

[Kaminski, interrupting]...as much as 70 percent.

[Browikowski]...70 percent, and the question, Mr Voivode [as heard]. Good, you have signed an agreement with the WPK crew in Bydgosz and Inowroclaw

[Gliwa] This is a complicated problem at the moment, because—it can be defined like this,—the voivodship authorities, wanting to be good managers, have to find assets at this moment [words indistinct]. We also have to be aware that it can't be done overnight. These are issues generally binding on the financial systems about which the minister has spoken here: about issues of budget subsidies. If we were to start to go into detail, of course, there are various sources for creating these assets and ways by which they can flow into voivodship budgets [words indistinct] The People's Council, as an organ of state authority, now has to find assets for the functioning of enterprises.

[Bronikowski] As far as I know, the People's Council Presidium proposed certain solutions today.

[Gliwa] Yes.

[Bronikowski] What does the Presidium propose?

[Gliwa] The Presidium of the Voivodship People's Council intends to submit this matter at a meeting on 4 May for examination. The Bydgoszcz voivoda has been instructed to outline sources for covering the costs linked with the agreement which has been concluded. These sources will undoubtedly include changes in the prices of tickets and must include matters linked with the lowering of operational costs by the enterprise and looking for every kind of additional possibility of making economies.

Among other things, as I said earlier, the settlement of wage rates and ratios between bus drivers and tram drivers, back-up personnel and white-collar workers, by increasing the influx of bus drivers, for example, to the enterprise, will enable the ratio to be brought back, making the driver's work cheaper. We incur our main costs through paying overtime. If there is less overtime, then there will be some savings there.

Further, I must stress one more thing: this will cause postponement of some important social targets defined in the socio-economic program, linked with voluntary work and support for it, or investment projects. At this moment I can't say anything specific, but it will certainly be linked with cutbacks in certain sectors of the economy. Maybe this will cause a lengthening of the implementation cycle for the renovation or construction of a hospital, some school in Bydgoszcz or Inowroclaw, a kindergarten or creche, or some other projects serving the whole of society.

[Bronikowski] Now, I'd like to ask you gentlemen from the Federation of Trade Unions of Urban Transport Employees in Lodz—you are in Lodz: Gentlemen, what other problems are you resolving with the transport ministry? What matters are the focus of interest for this enormous mass of urban transport employees?

[Gicel] In a phrase, Mr Editor, we are in favor of the introduction of speedy reform in municipal transport, but at the same time we oppose, while reforming the economy of the municipal transport, the situation when the amount of pay of our employees is determined by the state of town hall funds, and not by the results, the strenuous and difficult working conditions, and the economic results achieved. And this is the subject of our negotiations which we are commencing tomorrow at the Ministry of Transport.

[Kaminski] Mr Editor, in explaining the position here we must say clearly to ourselves that we, as the ministry which indirectly coordinates the work of municipal transport—because the direct coordinator is the fundamental body the voivoda—see and observe certain irregularities in the financial and economic system of municipal transport enterprises. For this reason we considered

it pursposeful and right to raise this issue at the negotiations conducted with the federation from square one and to work out new financial and economic principles for the functioning of these enterprises.

[Drukier] Today the most important issue is to end negotiations quickly and to end the collective dispute which was announced on 6 April.

[Bronikowski] What is the dispute about?

[Drukier] The collective dispute simply concerned the ensuring of financial means for this year needed for the functioning of transport, as well as for providing wages. This matter is the more disturbing to us, as the moment of starting negotiations was being put off. On the other hand, the situation is good now because the date has been set for tomorrow. That means that after 20 days we shall sit down at a table and start talking about this.

[Giwa] At the beginning we spoke in some length of how municipal transport enterprises obtain their funds to run their stock, and for development and modernization. Unfortunately, there are only two sources. Namely, a reduction in their own costs, or a rise in fares. These are the sources inherent in the enterprise. A third source is an increase in subsidies from the regional budget. So, the enterprise as such has only two alternatives at their disposal: either to raise the prices of services or reduce their running costs. The third is to approach the regional budget and the people's council and ask for an increase in subsidies.

[Kaminski] We are here entering the sphere of legislative activity at the level of amending laws. This is not settling matters quickly.

[Bronikowski] Minister, i hope that despite everything this will happen as soon as possible.

[Kaminski] We are doing everything possible to speed up these matters, but it is a very broad and complex sphere both from the point of view of financing and the law.

PAP Assesses Stoppage Causes

LD272249 Warsaw PAP in English
2137 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Warsaw, April 27: In recent days, work stoppages occurred at the Voivodship Transport Enterprise (WPK) in Bygdoszcz and in the Lenin steelworks.

What are the reasons behind the claims made and what may result from meeting them—these are questions that require explanation.

It is a fact that living in Poland is neither easy nor prosperous. The social and economic policies of the previous era had led to the country's large foreign debt, while Western restrictions aggravated economic difficulties.

The population's incomes greatly exceeded the national product. A surplus of money persisted with regard to consumer goods that were offered to the market.

Despite unrelenting efforts, the situation has not been yet improved as radically as the rules of economic game would require it. Economics continued its wrestling with social protection, with the desire to maintain the achieved living standard.

With the intention to put an end to this situation, acceleration of reformatory measures—the second stage of economic reform—was proclaimed after last year's referendum. Last February's pricing and cushioning decisions were a constituent part of the second stage of reform. They were supposed to elicit stimulating processes which would put a stop to the so-called social pay, that is pay that is (?at the) level of family expenditure.

The claims refer to an old tradition—to the demand to increase incomes without making them conditional on production effects of mother-factory.

This method speeds up inflation and enhances the process of destabilizing internal consumer goods market. It does not take into account either the situation in the country's economy or the foreign debt. It is a short-sighted approach the effects of which we have experienced more than once.

Principles of the second stage of economic reform establish numerous possibilities to raise wages in accordance with economic rules. They also take into account a possibility to negotiate all related issues.

But one must keep it in mind that the enterprise itself must work out funds for remuneration without relying on assistance from the state budget. Results of thinking and doing otherwise will hit out at the interests of the enterprise itself and of its crew, and, indirectly, at the entire economy.

Pay disputes are a normal thing as long as they are solved in keeping with the law and principles of the second stage of economic reform. Or else, we shall land in the wilderness of anarchy.

Activities of Freedom, Peace Movement Scored

PM261535 Poznan GAZETA POZNANSKA in Polish
15 Apr 88 p 3

[Tadeusz Dolata commentary: "A Patron for WIP?"]

[Text] "Yet again, in the streets of Warsaw and Krakow, citizens are marching in open protest actions: These demonstrators look very much unlike the stereotyped image of the protester formed in the earlier years of the crisis. In the place of workers barely containing their anger, today we have a preponderance of neatly coiffured housewives marching side by side with large numbers of

young people with benevolent smiles on their faces," noted the West German periodical DER SPIEGEL (no. 19) in an extensive report from Poland.

One might ask how long that serious and influential weekly has been taking an interest in coiffured housewives and why it has been doing so. And, supposing similar demonstrations were to take place in Paris, Bonn, or London, would the editors of DER SPIEGEL focus their attention on them in the same way?

The answer to my question comes from DER SPIEGEL itself, in a passage which follows several lines later: "Although the founding fathers of the smashed Solidarity have lost the support they had enjoyed, nonetheless the Freedom and Peace [WIP] movement, described as 'an offspring of Solidarity,' is steadily gaining strength."

So the coiffured heads of Polish housewives only served as a pretext for painting Poland black. It is true that there are no strikes, and it is no longer possible to keep readers in the West hoodwinked by stories about the authority still supposedly commanded by the "fathers" of the former Solidarity, but it will certainly not do to look passively on as changes begin to take place in Poland. Therefore it is necessary to exploit every opportunity for creating a false picture of what happens there, thereby poisoning the international political climate. Although the pacifism proclaimed by the WIP has not elicited any serious response in Poland, "a country which so often in the past had to take up armed struggle for its freedom and independence," as DER SPIEGEL admits, still the "boys in jeans" who refuse to do their military service deserve, in that weekly's opinion, to be offered sympathy and support. Although only 50 of them have been punished since 1985, it does not mean that the authorities in charge of the Polish People's Republic are lighthanded toward these "swaggering youths," asserts the weekly and goes on quickly to explain: "In Poland there is no law which would provide for a refusal to do military service for reasons of one's beliefs."

By the same token one might assume that such a provision does exist, for example, in the United States, since large numbers of young American men who wished to avoid being sent to Vietnam or confined to prison had no choice but to flee the country after receiving their draft papers—but then, naturally, DER SPIEGEL conveniently managed to forget about that.

The sympathy and approval extended by Western propaganda to the WIP movement which "offers organized resistance to the system" are usually justified by the apparent moral significance of the movement for the younger generation of Poles and the alleged involvement of the church in the whole issue. Any suitable occasion is used to recall the events of March 1985, when a group of several high school and university students barricaded themselves inside the church of St. Christopher in Podkowa Lesna to stage a week's strike as a token of their protest against military service. Reinforcing the popular conviction that the church has taken the WIP under its protective wing, the Austrian magazine PROFIL said, for example, that the biggest "score"—as they literally called it—was the staging of a seminar at the Church of the Divine Mercy in Warsaw, where pacifists from West Europe and "Polish enemies of the Soviets" together drew up a joint action program. At this point it might be pertinent to explain here that recently one of the leaders of the WIP movement expressed his disapproval of—or, rather, annoyance with—the West German "Greens" and the British antinuclear protesters because of their excessive involvement in promoting NATO disarmament, which, in his opinion, does a disservice to the "cause for which the WIP is fighting."

Since the movement cannot boast any broad public support or produce any rational program, the WIP activists have—perhaps at the instigation of some unknown influence—created a mystical shrine which since November 1985 has served as the destination of regular pilgrimages undertaken by supporters of the movement. The place is a village graveyard at Machowa near Tarnow, which—according to Western propaganda centers—houses the presumed grave of the "idol of the Polish youth": Otto Schimek, a soldier of the Nazi Wehrmacht. He is alleged to have refused to take part in an execution of a group of Polish women and children in November 1944 and was subsequently "court-martialed and sentenced to execution by firing squad for cowardice in the face of the enemy."

"The grave of this particular martyr," wrote DER SPIEGEL, "who sealed his resistance by dying a death that was to become known to the world, is, in the opinion of the followers of the WIP movement, a fitting place from which to demand that the Polish authorities respect refusals to carry out military service." The leaders of the movement then adopted this viewpoint as their own and went on to stage the declaration of an appropriate resolution by Schimek's graveside.

In order to give the whole thing a reinforcing propaganda backup, they also saw to it that the story of private Schimek should enter the realm of pious legends. Witnesses' accounts crediting the grave with supernatural healing and miracle-working power began to abound. Sadly, this is not just another fantastic story. The village church in Machowa has on display a large number of thanksgiving letters written by the grateful convalescents. Many other devotional objects commemorating Otto Schimek are available inside.

One of the brochures issued by the WIP in the so-called alternative publishing network carries the following invocation: "Otto Schimek, who are you? A coward? A hero? Perhaps a saint? Perhaps the Church will make you a saint?"

Are the organizers of that particular campaign really unaware of the fact that the choice of such a figure for a "holy patron" is tactless? Do they not realize that

worshiping a Wehrmacht soldier and elevating him onto the altars here in Poland constitutes an insult to the millions of victims of the mechanism of terror of which that army had been an efficient and obedient tool?

Milk, Butter Prices To Drop 1 May

LD271447 Warsaw PAP in English
1418 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Warsaw, April 27—As of May 1st, prices of milk, Polish-made butter and cottage cheese will be seasonally reduced, the Ministry of Finance reported today.

Economic Figures for First Quarter

AU271808 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
25 Apr 8 p 5

[PAP report: "Report by the Main Statistical Office—the Country's Economic Situation in March and the First Quarter of This Year"]

[Text] Economic results in the main sectors of material production in the first quarter of 1988 were better than during the same period last year. Compared with that period, industrial output and construction, and shipments by state transport, were clearly greater. Exports and imports went up, especially to and from the second area of payments. The procurement of milk was also higher, but there was a slight decline in the procurement of livestock. More apartments were completed than in the first quarter of 1987.

The population's incomes grew substantially because of wages and social benefits and because of profits from the sale of goods and profits earned by the private economy outside agriculture. These were then earmarked for further investments, output, and consumption. Incomes were boosted by compensation for the price increases and by bonuses resulting from positive balance-sheets last year.

Spending by the population also increased. Retail sales also rose prior to the price increases. The rise in incomes exceeded the increases in the prices of goods and services.

Concerning industry, the sold production of state industry in terms of constant prices was 7.6 percent higher than last year. Sold production in the extracting industries was 2.7 percent higher and sold production in the processing industry 8 percent higher. The sold production in the whole of industry was 6.1 percent higher.

Between 25.4 and 25.7 percent of the plan for sold industrial production was fulfilled. Last year the percentage was 24.7.

Sold production per industrial employee in the first quarter of 1988 was 7.6 percent higher than in the first quarter of 1987, and in March 1988 it was 3.9 percent higher than in March 1987.

In agriculture, the central procurement of livestock during the first quarter of this year amounted to 606,100 tonnes, 2.4 percent less than last year. The procurement of cattle was 0.5 higher. Procurement of pigs was 1.3 lower and that of poultry 8.9 percent lower.

Milk procurement in the first quarter amounted to 2190.6 million liters, of which 767.1 million liters were procured in March. That is 4.3 and 1.9 percent more last year, respectively.

The basic production of state construction and refurbishing enterprises was 21.4 percent higher than last year. Some 21.2 percent of the primary construction plan was fulfilled, compared with 18.3 percent last year.

Stated housing construction completed 18,500 apartments with a total usable space of 1,062,700 square meters, out of which 11,700 apartments with a total area of 663,400 square meters were completed in March. Some 2,200 or 13.5 percent more apartments were completed in the first quarter of 1988 than in the first quarter of 1987; 2,400 or 25.1 percent more were completed in March 1988 than in March 1987.

In the first quarter, state transport enterprises shipped 273,400,000 tonnes of goods, 16.2 percent more than last year. Rail shipments increased by 8.5 percent, road shipments by 22.4 percent, and maritime shipments by 6.8 percent.

Average employment in the five basic sectors of the state economy in the first quarter of 1988 was 7,522,000—102,700 or 1.3 percent less than last year.

Concerning foreign trade, in terms of fixed prices, exports were 12.3 percent and imports 12.4 percent higher in the first quarter of 1988 than in the first quarter of 1987. In March 1988, exports were 6.1 percent and imports 4.1 percent higher than in March 1987.

Exports and imports to and from the first area of payments in the first quarter of 1988 were 9.5 percent and 11.6 percent higher than in 1987. Exports and imports to and from the second area of payments during this period were 15.1 percent and 13.3 percent higher. In exports and in imports, plan fulfillment was greater than last year.

At the end of March 1988 there was a trade deficit with the first area of payments amounting to R31 million (compared to R91 million in 1987), and there was a trade surplus with the second area of payments amounting to $2,277 million (compared with $201 million last year).

Average monthly wages excluding bonuses in the five basic sectors of state industry in the first quarter of 1988 were 45.9 percent higher than in 1987. In March 1988 they were 44.4 percent higher than in March 1987. Wages rose more than planned.

The average monthly old-age and disability pension in the first quarter of 1988 was 44.2 percent higher than in the first quarter of 1987. In March 1988 it was 58.8 percent higher than in March 1987.

The population's incomes in the first quarter of 1988 amounted to Z3,348.4 billion, while expenditures amounted to Z2,911.2 billion. Incomes were 60 percent and expenditures 52.9 percent higher than in the first quarter of 1987. Incomes and expenditures in March 1988 were 74.4 percent and 57 percent higher than in March 1987.

The population's financial resources increased by Z437.2 billion from 1 January to 31 March 1988. They increased by Z119.9 billion in March alone. This increase constituted 13.1 percent of incomes, compared to 8.9 percent in the first quarter of 1987. The amount of resources at the end of March 1988 was 23.1 percent greater than in March 1987. The amount of cash held was 27.5 percent greater.

Retail prices of consumer goods and services in the state sector in the first quarter of 1988 were 43 percent higher than in the first quarter of 1987. If one omits liquor and tobacco, then they were 37 percent higher. Retail prices in state shops were 43 percent and in private shops 62 percent higher. Food in state shops was 42 percent and in private shops and market stalls 66 percent more expensive. Liquor was 57 percent, non-food commodities 40 percent, and services 47 percent more expensive than in the first quarter of 1987.

Retail prices of consumer goods and services in March 1988 were about 29 percent higher than in December 1987. If one omits liquor and tobacco, they were about 22 percent higher.

In terms of current prices, retail sales in state and private shops in the first quarter of 1988 totalled Z2,428.9 billion, 51 percent more than last year. Sales of food were 49 percent higher, liquor sales 48 percent higher, and sales of non-food commodities 52 percent higher.

The value of stock in shops at the end of March 1988 amounted to Z1,371.7 billion, which was 19.7 percent more than at the end of March 1987.

Daily Assesses Shultz-Shevardnadze Talks

AU271203 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 25 Apr 88 p 6

[Ryszard Bankowicz commentary: "Without Innuendoes"]

[Text] The main topic of George Shultz's Moscow talks was preparing the coming summit meeting. Formally appraising his visit, we can say that it has furthered the preparations, because the outline of the program for the U.S. President's visit to the USSR has been adopted and because the program shows that the two leaders will devote most of their time to a direct exchange of views. However, not all the obstacles that have recently hindered the negotiations on restricting strategic weapons have been removed, and this is cause for prudence in those who continue to assume that a draft treaty will be ready for signing when Mikhail Gorbachev receives Ronald Reagan in the Kremlin.

For each power, the accord on eliminating half the strategic weapons involves for wearisome problems of their own security and of that of their allies, and there could be enough of such problems to justify differences in views on many questions, differences that can hinder negotiations. But precisely Shultz's Moscow visit makes it obvious that the issue boils down to differences of views about the future nature of mutual relations. Gorbachev avoided innuendoes when explaining the Soviet position on this subject to Shultz.

He stated that it seemed that both capitals had been able to free themselves from the shackles of stereotypes and had abandoned attempts to enforce their own views, but that, despite the success of the Washington summit, the U.S. Administration insisted on following only critical criteria in evaluating Soviet policy and was trying to compel Moscow to make one-sided concessions, while mistakenly regarding the Soviet readiness to agree as weakness.

Each day brings the Moscow summit closer and c loser. Its success depends on accepting that it is necessary—this necessity is now clear in Moscow—to remodel Soviet-U.S. relations in such a way as to favor agreement and make allowances for the interests of the two partners.

Deputy Premier Visits Hanover Fair

LD272117 Warsaw PAP in English 1530 GMT 27 Apr 88

[By PAP Correspondent Eugeniusz Guz]

[Text] Bonn, April 27—Between April 25-27 Deputy Premier Zbigniew Szalajda, together with the Polish delegation accompanying him, visited the world's largest industrial fair in Hanover, where he acquainted himself with the newest achievements in the electroengineering industry.

The fair was an opportunity to conduct talks with the Federal Minister of Economics Martin Bangemann. During the meeting both men reviewed bilateral economic relations, discussed the possibilities of making them more dynamic, debated the causes hindering this process. The Polish side acquainted its hosts with the direction of the economic reforms underway in Poland and the pro-export policy accompanying them, which should also include economic cooperation with the FRG, Poland's largest trading partner in the West.

At the fair the Polish delegation also met with representatives of giant concerns, which have traditional economic ties with Poland, such as VEBA, AEG, Bosch, Schloemenn-Siemag. The participants studied the possibilities of the undertaking by these companies—on mutually favourable credit conditions, independently or in cooperation with the Polish industry—of investment projects in Poland which would accelerate proexport production. Talks on the subject with some concerns are considerably advanced. For example, a meeting was held with the leadership of the VEBA concern, pertaining to possible cooperation in the construction of energy-saving power plants in Poland.

Deputy Premier Szalajda also conducted talks with the political and economic

Jaruzelski Receives PCI Delegation
LD272215 Warsaw PAP in English
1631 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Warsaw, April 27—PUWP CC First Secretary Wojciech Jaruzelski received here today a delegation of the Central Office of the Italian Communist Party (PCI) headed by member of the Political Bureau Antonio Rubbi, now on an official visit to Poland at the invitation from PUWP CC.

During the Polish visit, members of the delegaton also held talks with Political Bureau member, Cc Secretary Jozef Czyrek and Political Bureau member Mieczyslaw Rakowski and other Cc secretaries.

Meetings were also held in Several departments of the Central Committee, at All-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions and at "Ursus" mechanical plant. The talks focused on the current international problems, development of political and economic sitation in Poland and in Italy and on cooperation between PUWP and PCI.

PUWP's Czyrek Meets Italian Socialists
LD272258 Warsaw PAP in English
1848 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Warsaw, April 27—A delegation of the Italian Socialist Party (PSI) led by the party's deputy secretary general, Claudio Martelli arrived here today at the invitation from PUWP CC.

The delegation met with PUWP Political Bureau Member, CC Secretary Jozef Czyrek and discussed international problems and contacts between PSI and PUWP.

Weekly Views PRC's 'Opening' To World
AU261051 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish
23 Apr 88 p 13

[Bogdan Goralczyk article: "China—Turning to the Outside World"]

[Excerpts] The Kentucky Fried Chicken next to Mao's mausoleum in the heart of China—the square of Heavenly Peace—and some hundreds of yards further on, the Maxim de Beijing offers les crevettes imperiales au gratin, de boeuf Strogonoff, and other foreign culinary specialties. Hilton hotels in Shanghai and the "Great Wall" hotel in Beijing seem to have been bodily transferred there from Las Vegas or Manhattan. A new fever has gripped hotels and public places: the madness of disco dancing. Deng Xiaoping says that the present changes in the PRC are the "second revolution." This great statesman does not like to talk hot air, and one can believe in this in the easiest way by surveying the Chinese policy of the opening to the world and the achievements of this policy. [passage omitted]

Why has China opened itself to the world? The Chinese economists supply a number of answers to this question. First, China will not be able to quickly and effectively modernize itself (the program for the "four modernizations" is still most definitely in force), if it fails to increase its economic cooperation with the world. This is related to the second thesis, one which continues to be increasingly accepted by the Chinese people, that the economies of all states continue to be increasingly interdependent. Xue Muqiao, the famed Chinese economist, even asserts that "today there is only one market, the world market, in which the socialist and the capitalist states do trade with each other."

The third thesis, which is perhaps not so vociferous, states that not only Japan, but also most of the economies in the Far East opened and expanded themselves to the world in the sixties when China continued to close itself to the world, and that the results of this strategy are there for all to see.

Changes in the attitude toward the world have resulted in great and rapid increases in foreign trade. In 1978, before reforms begun to be implemented, this trade was worth a little over $20 billion, but in 1985 it was worth $70 billion and in 1987 almost $80 billion. In fewer than 10 years it has quadrupled, but Chinese ambitions and possibilities are still enormous.

However, we should not assess the strategy of the opening to the world by figures only. The quantitative progress in relations with the world goes hand in hand with qualitative changes. In the mid-seventies the entire foreign trade was run by the state foreign trade agencies, but today China's links with the world continue to be maintained by over 2,000 various channels. The Ministry of Trade and Foreign Economic Relations has lost its immediate supervision over trading agencies and has retained monopoly over only seven categories of imported goods and over 16 categories of exported goods. [passage omitted]

As is the case with the entire process of reforms, basic tensions and contradictions continue to emerge between reformatory trends and ideological-institutional views, which are still persisting. "Internationalist" and protectionist trends are also rearing their heads. These contradictions stimulate the dynamic of the entire process.

Efforts to prevent too wide an opening to the world continue to be inhibited by recalling historical experience. For example, people say that a "second Japanese invasion" of China—an economic-technological one—may take place. The upshot of this is that the common consensus is emerging that home production should enjoy fundamental importance and that imports and foreign trade should enjoy complementary importance.

Premier Li Peng discussed this subject in mid-1986: "To promote modernization, China should primarily rely on home production and not on imports of foreign equipment."

The principle "Chinese science is the foundation and Western science is a useful thing," which was formulated by the famed thinker Zhang Zhi-dong in the 19th century, has won many new adherents, and proportions have to be just like that. Moreover, this principle has now acquired a more extensive import and has been applied to all relations with the world. Maritime provinces have become leaders in this in line with Deng Xiaoping's strategic directive: "We must allow certain people to get rich before other people do, because only this will result in general prosperity." [passage omitted]

Hong Kong, which is the biggest foreign investor in China, is also instrumental in developing the special economic zone of Shenzen, a province that adjoins Hong Kong. The two territories are linked by a six-lane highway, and the "tallest building in China"—a 52-story hotel—has been built in Shenzen. [passage omitted] Even some years ago the Shenzen population's annual income was several times higher than that of the rest of the Chinese population. The numbers of those wanting to live in Shenzen were so large that a fence had to be erected and customs sheds of a kind were introduced at one time. All the same, no one seriously denies that the special zones are here to stay, despite the controversy about them and their style of life.

American writer Orwill Shell was right when he wrote: "When one visits the economic zones one cannot help noting their concentrated energy. Although this energy is mainly directed to capitalism, it reminds one in many ways of Mao's revolution, when solemn moments would unite everyone and would make them forge ahead with unshakable albeit most often thoughtless optimism. China no longer builds obsolete steel works and does not employ thousands and thousands of people carrying baskets full of earth with which to erect dikes and dams. But it is with the same energy and impatience that the Chinese continue to build special economic zones in order to heave China out of its backwardness."

The people working in the economic zones are convinced that they are building a "new Hong Kong." Those living in Hainan continue to dream about "catching up with Taiwan." In private conservations, the Chinese make no secret of the fact that it would be good to "catch up with Japan." However, the basic problem is to ensure that there is no "return to capitalism" in this connection and that "the socialist road is preserved." In relations with the world, home production is to have fundamental importance and imports are to be merely a complement of this production. In the same way, China is to stay socialist with some modicum of capitalism. When explaining the concept of "one country and two systems," the Chinese say that a small measure of capitalism will not harm such a colossus as China.

CPCZ's Jakes Continues Official Visit 27 Apr

Begins Talks With Ceausescu

AU271145 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1106 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 27/04/1988—Talks between Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP general secretary, president of Romania, and Milos Jakes, secretary general of the CC of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, began at the State Council Palace in Bucharest on Wednesday [27 April] afternoon.

Romanian and Czechoslovak officials attended.

The talks focus on the stage of Romanian-Czechoslovak links of collaboration, the ways to further expand these relations. The Romanian-Czehoslovak dialogue is also an opportunity to approach questions of the current international situation.

Further on Talks

AU271932 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1744 GMT 27 Apr 88

["Nicolae Ceausescu-Milos Jakes Talks"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 27/04/1988—The general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, Nicolae Ceausescu held talks at the Palace of the State Council on Wednesday with the secretary-general of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, Milos Jakes.

The talks were attended for Romania by: Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP, Silviu Curticeanu, secretary of the CC of the RCP, Nicolae Mihalache, adviser to the party general secretary and president of the Republic, Ion Patan, Romania's ambassador to Prague.

For Czechoslovakia by Michal Stefaniak, member of the CC of the CPCZ, head of the International Policy Section of the CC of the CPCZ, Vaclav Holub, adviser to the secretary-general of the CC of the CPCZ, Jan Papp, Czechoslovakia's ambassador to Bucharest, Karel Lukas, adviser to the secretary-general of the CC of the CPCZ.

Nicolae Ceausescu welcomed Milos Jakes' visit expressing the belief that the Bucharest summit would go down as another important moment of the development of the friendly and cooperative ties between the RCP and the CPCZ, between Romania and Czechoslovakia, between the Romanian and Czechoslovak peoples.

Milos Jakes thanked for the invitation to visit Romania, for the particularly warm and friendly reception extended to him, stressing in his turn that the visit would open new prospects for the expansion of the Romanian-Czechoslovak links of manysided cooperation.

Nicolae Ceausescu was conveyed a warm message of friendship, wishes of good health and personal happiness from Gustav Husak, president of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, and the Romanian people wishes of prosperity.

Nicolae Ceausescu thanked and requested that Gustav Husak be conveyed his friendly greetings and the best wishes.

During the talks Nicolae Ceausescu and Milos Jakes informed each other about the two parties' activity and concerns for the implementation of the resolutions of the Thirteenth Congress of the RCP and of the Seventeenth Congress of the CPCZ respectively.

In that context the current stage of the bilateral relations was surveyed as well as the possibilities of further developing the Romanian-Czechoslovak collaboration in the economic, technical, scientific and cultural fields, in keeping with the level reached by the two countries' economies.

International political issues were also approached with stress on those concerning the halting of the arms race and the passage to disarmament, nuclear in the first place, the establishment of a climate of detente, security, confidence and broad cooperation in Europe, the safeguarding of peace and life on the earth.

The two leaders expressed satisfaction at the results of the visit, of the talks held, as well as their determination to continue the practice of suchlike working meetings to the end of operatively examining problems related to the further growth of the friendly and cooperative ties between the RCP and the CPCZ, between Romania and Czechoslovakia, between the two peoples, in the interest of the general cause of socialism and progress, of consolidating international peace, confidence and cooperation.

The determination of the RCP and the CPCZ was also reiterated to further develop their cooperation on an international plane, to enhance their contribution to the settlement of the major problems confronting mankind.

The talks passed in a warm, friendly atmosphere of mutual esteem and understanding.

A joint communique on the results of the visit and on the talks held was adopted.

Prague Reports Talks

LD271046 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1030 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] In Romania, talks between Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and President Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, began today in Bucharest.

In a cordial comradely conversation, both representatives told each other about present topical tasks for building socialism in Czechoslovakia and Romania. They evaluated the results of cooperation up to now between both Communist Parties and states. They also set out further prospects for mutual relations in politics, economics, scientific-technical development, culture, and other areas.

Milos Jakes and Nicolae Ceausescu also exchanged views on the main questions of international political development.

Talks Termed 'Cordial'

LD271704 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1518 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Official talks took place today in Bucharest between Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, and President Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP general secretary.

In comradely and cordial talks, the leading party officials briefed each other on the current topical issues of building socialism in Czechoslovakia and Romania. They reviewed the results of cooperation between the two Communist Parties and states, and set out further perspectives for mutual relations in politics, the economy, the development of science and technology, culture, and other spheres. The openness and constructive nature of the talks reaffirmed the strength and depth of relations between our Marxist-Leninist parties, the high level of all-around cooperation between the two fraternal socialist states, and the traditional friendship between the Czechoslovak and Romanian people, which are developing in keeping with the lines set out at the latest congresses of the two fraternal parties.

Milos Jakes and Nicolae Ceausescu commended in particular the considerable range and high level of contacts and cooperation in all sphres of the life of society and the interest of both sides in further expanding and deepening them. Traditionally good results are also being produced by contacts between the parliaments, governments, central bodies, and social and youth organizations. Their basis is close cooperation between the CPCZ and the RCP. In this context, they pointed out that in a few months we will jointly be celebrating the 40th and 20th anniversaries of the friendship, cooperation, and mutual assistance agreements that opened a qualitatively new stage in our mutual cooperation. It is on this basis that relations continue to develop and deepen in every way.

Comrades Milos Jakes and Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized in their talks that economic cooperation is assuming ever increasing importance for both countries' economies. Recently, there has been definite growth in this sphere, and this is reflected by, among other things, the foreign trade turnover for 1986 and 1987. They noted that despite the positive trend in economic cooperation, however, there is still great room for improvement in further intensifying and improving cooperation and raising it to an even higher level. Therefore, it is necessary to make use of, in particular, all higher and progressive forms of economic collaboration and, first and foremost, to increase the mutual supply of goods carried out on the basis of the agreements on production cooperation and specialization. There is inadequate use, they stated, of opportunities for cooperation in science and technology, direct cooperation between enterprises in promoting integration processes, and cooperation on third markets. The officials agreed that further possibilities for the development of mutual cooperation exist in the sphere of cultural, educational, and health care contacts, and in tourism.

Also on the agenda of the talks was the topical international political situation. Comrades Milos Jakes and Nicolae Ceausescu highly commended the ratification process currently going on in the countries of the two signatories of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on eliminating intermediate- and shorter-range missiles. They voiced the conviction that this process will culminate positively and that the treaty will be the beginning of a wider disarmament process in which there will follow the signing of an agreement on a 50-percent cut in strategic offensive weapons while consistently adhering to the ABM treaty and a complete nuclear test ban, as well as the conclusion of a convention on eliminating chemical weapons, and, last but not least, an agreement on reducing conventional weapons.

Both leading party officials emphasized that the time has come for the funds spent by mankind on self-extermination to be used for investments in better living conditions throughout the world. Czechoslovakia and Romania see the point of departure as the peace policy of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact states, which, both jointly and independently after prior mutual coordination, are presenting a series of constructive proposals and initiatives. The implementation of the joint Czechoslovak and GDR proposals to create a chemical weapons-free and nuclear-free zone in central Europe will undoubtedly contribute to a global solution, as will the proposals by Romania and Bulgaria to set up zones free of nuclear and chemical weapons in the Balkans.

In February this year, a Czechoslovak initiative was declared on setting up a zone of trust, cooperation, and neighborly relations on the line dividing the Warsaw Pact and NATO states in Europe as a contribution to the coordinated foreign political efforts of the fraternal socialist states. This fully accords with the long-term

policy of the Warsaw Pact and the interests of Czechoslovakia and Romania. Comrades Milos Jakes and Nicolae Ceausescu emphasized that its comprehensive conception, which includes the political, military, economic, ecological, and humanitarian spheres, should help build security and cooperation on broader and firmer foundations.

Ceausescu, Jakes Exchange Toasts

AU271650 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1616 GMT 27 Apr 88

["Official Lunch"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 27/04/1988—On April 27 RCP General Secretary and President of Romania Nicolae Ceausescu gave an official lunch in honour of Milos Jakes, secretary-general of the CC of the CP of Czechoslovakia.

The attendance included full and alternate members of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, secretaries of the RCP Central Committee, members of the State Council and of the Romanian Government, executives of central institutions.

The officials accompanying the distinguished Czechoslovak guest in his visit to Romania were also present.

During the lunch held in an atmosphere of warm friendship Nicolae Ceausescu and Milos Jakes proposed toasts.

Report on Ceausescu Toast

AU272025 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1924 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Report on "President Nicolae Ceausescu's Toast"—AGERPRES headline—at a lunch in honor of visiting Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, on 27 April in Bucharest]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 27/4/1988—Nicolae Ceausescu, after expressing his satisfaction at the first visit Milos Jakes paid to Romania as secretary-general of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, appreciated that good relations existed between the two parties and peoples. We must do our utmost to ensure the rising of the collaboration between our parties and countries to an ever higher level, the speaker showed, assessing as good the present level of the economic exchanges, of the collaboration and cooperation in production, in science, technology, culture and in other fields. However, he said, there are still great possibilities to ensure an intensification of our relations in all areas. The understandings that we have covenanted today, inclusive of the decision to empower the prime ministers to elaborate a broader programme of cooperation in production and production specialization in science, technology and other domains, will open broad prospects for future.

At the same time we must largely develop the exchanges and collaboration between our parties, as well as between the mass and public organizations, between the peoples of the two countries.

Referring to some international issues related to which opinions were exchanged at length, Nicolae Ceausescu stated: Our stands are identical or very close. We have [word indistinct] how to work—within the bodies our countries belong to—for disarmament, for the elimination of nuclear weapons, for the settlement of the complex issues of contemporary world in a new, democratic way. It is necessary to do more to solve interstate problems only by negotiations. In his toast President Nicolae Ceausescu underscored the special attention Romania paid to the settlement of underdevelopment problems, to liquidating the backwardness of the great majority of the states, to reaching a new economic order. We consider that the socialist countries can do more in the settlement of these special problems, the speaker showed.

Nicolae Ceausescu restated the RCP stand on the collaboration with all socialist, social democratic parties, with other progressive forces and movements, as well as Romania's determination to strengthen the solidarity and unity with all developing countries, with developed capitalist countries, with all the states of the world regardless of social system. The RCP and Romanian state leader emphasized the importance of laying at the base of interstate relations the principles of full equality of right, observance of national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs, each nation's right to free development.

We consider the exchange of experience between the countries that are building socialism as highly important, the speaker said and added: We have always considered the fact that every party and country decide their policy independently, starting from the specific conditions in which they carry on their activity.

In connection with the two parties' concerns for the further development of socialist construction on the basis of improved activities in various sectors, and the continuous expansion of socialist democracy and of revolutionary worker democracy Nicolae Ceausescu said: Naturally, problems are solved in one way in one country and in another way in another country; however, what is essential is that no matter the mode of organization the successful building of the socialist society be secured. We have always considered the fact that socialism is built with the people and for the people, that to build socialism the active participation should be ensured of all working people, of the entire nation in running society. Just as other basic socialist principles, democracy is an objective requirement for the victory of socialism and communism.

Jakes Visits Bucharest Units

AU272026 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1920 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 27/4/1988—On Wednesday afternoon Nicolae Ceausescu and Milos Jakes visited places of social interest and residential districts in Romania's capital.

After a first stop at the Dimbovita storage lake, they saw round the "Victoria Socialismului" Boulevard and the building site of the "House of the Republic", as well as the important architectural ensembles in that area of the Romanian capital and the "Unirea" agroindustrial shopping centre.

The two party leaders also visited the second mainline of the Bucharest underground. They were accompanied by Constantin Olteanu, first secretary of the Bucharest Municipality RCP Committee, mayor-general of the capital.

Gives Award to Ceausescu

AU271858 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1742 GMT 27 Apr 88

["President Nicolae Ceausescu Is Awarded the Czechoslovak Order the White Lion"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 27/04/1988—On April 27, Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP, president of Romania, was awarded the Order of the White Lion, First Class, With Collar, the highest state distinction of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. The order was handed over by Milos Jakes, secretary-general of the CC of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

During the ceremony, held at the State Council Palace, Milos Jakes and Nicolae Ceausescu made addresses.

The ceremony was attended by full and alternate members of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, secretaries of the party Central Committee, members of the State Council and of the government, other officials.

Also present were the officials accompanying the distinguished guest on his visit to Romania.

Attending were also Romania's ambassador in Prague and Czechoslovakia's ambassador in Bucharest.

Further on Award

AU280820 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0711 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES 28/4/1988—On April 27, Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP, president of Romania, was awarded the Order of the White Lion, First Class, with Collar, the highest state distinction of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic. The order was handed over by Milos Jakes, secretary-general of the CC of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia.

During the ceremony, held at the State Council Palace, Milos Jakes and Nicolae Ceausescu made addresses.

The ceremony was attended by full and alternate members of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP, secretaries of the party Central Committee, members of the State Council and of the government, other officials.

Also present were the officials accompanying the distinguished guest on his visit to Romania.

Attending were also Romania's ambassador in Prague and Czechoslovakia's ambassador in Bucharest.

Addressing Nicolae Ceausescu, Milos Jakes said:

"Please accept our highest state distinction as a sign of sincere valuation of your personal contribution to the strengthening of the links of friendship, alliance and many-sided collaboration between the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Romanian Communist Party, between the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Socialist Republic of Romania, between the peoples of the two countries.

"We greatly appreciate you as an eminent politician and statesman, as a front-rank militant of the international communist and working class movement, as a Communist who has devoted his life to the fight for socialism and social progress. Your name is linked to the successes the Romanian people, at head with the Romanian Communist Party, has had on the historic road of socialist construction. Through your activity in the highest party and state offices you contribute to the strengthening of the unity of the countries of the socialist community, to the consolidation of their economic and defence potentials, to the development of many-sided collaboration among the states participating in the Warsaw Treaty and the members of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance. Through your tireless activity in the world arena you contribute to the assertion of the ideal of all progressive, peace-loving people—the ideal of a life free of all threats, a life of peace and understanding.

"We are highly appreciative of the fact that in the last few years in particular the relations between the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Socialist Republic of Romania have developed sensibly as collaboration in the political, economic, technical, scientific and cultural fields, as well as in other areas of the social life in our two countries has expanded," the speaker said and showed that those relations were characterized by a continuous dynamism of their development, by bilateral efforts for optimal solutions for mutual collaboration, in line with the exigent requirements of the contemporary world.

In conclusion Milos Jakes expressed his appreciation for the talks conducted and the unity of opinions on the problems approached, as well as his belief that the results of those talks would contribute to the further expansion and diversification of mutual relations in all fields, would go down as a substantial contribution to the many-sided collaboration between the two Communist Parties and the peoples of the two fraternal countries, to the continuous strengthening of relations among the two states, of the socialist community as a whole.

In his address of reply, after thanking for the high distinction, President Nicolae Ceausescu said inter alia:

There are old relations of traditional friendship and collaboration between the Romanian Communist Party and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, between the peoples of Romania and Czechoslovakia. These relations have acquired new dimensions in the years of socialist construction in our countries. The treaty of friendship and collaboration between our countries reflect the mutual determination to go together on the way of socialism, to actively collaborate with the other socialist countries. The collaboration within the CMEA, within the Warsaw Treaty is an important factor both of socialist construction and of the policy of international peace and collaboration.

Romania wishes to actively collaborate with all socialist countries in the settlement of the complex issues of the world today, first of all for the liquidation of the nuclear weapons, for disarmament.

Considering the current world circumstances, we attach great importance to the strengthening of the collaboration and unity of the communist and working-class movement. Likewise, we are for the broad development of the collaboration with the socialist and social-democratic parties, with other parties and progressive forces.

In concluding his address, President Nicolae Ceausescu expressed satisfaction at the talks and understandings reached on the occasion. Although short, he said, your visit will account for yet another important moment in the development of the relations between our parties and peoples.

Prague Reports Decoration

LD271910 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1630 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Excerpts] Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, made a friendly working visit to the Socialist Republic of Romania today. It was made at the invitation of President Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP. [passage omitted]

Comrade Milos Jakes today presented Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu with the Czechoslovak Order of the White Lion, First Class, with Chain. The order was awarded to him to mark his 70th birthday by Gustav Husak, president of the republic, for his personal contribution to enhancing friendship, alliance, and multilateral cooperation between the CPCZ and the RCP, Czechoslovakia and Romania and both countries' peoples.

In a speech during the award ceremony, Comrade Milos Jakes stated that we have a high opinion of Nicolae Ceausescu as an important politician and statesman, representative of the international communist and workers' movement, and as a Communist who has dedicated his life to fighting for socialism and social progress. The name of Nicolae Ceausescu, he stated, is linked with the successes being achieved by the Romanian people, headed by the RCP, along the historic path of building socialism. By his unflagging activity in the international arena, the Romanian official is helping to promote the ideal of all progressive and peace-loving people—a secure life in conditions of peace and mutual understanding, said Comrade Jakes.

Comrade Milos Jakes went on to commend the fact that relations between Czechoslovakia and Romania, particularly in recent years, have become markedly more active. He expressed the conviction that the results of today's talks with Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu will contribute to further deepening and enhancing mutual contacts and that they will be an important contribution to the all-around development of cooperation between our Communist Parties and the people of both fraternal countries and to the continual reinforcement of the relations between our states and the whole socialist community.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu expressed his thanks for the high Czechoslovak award, which he sees as a tribute to his work both in the past and the present and, at the same time, as an expression of the good relations between our parties and countries. He went on to speak about cooperation in CEMA and the Warsaw Pact, which, he stated, is an important factor, both for building socialism and for the policy of peace and international cooperation. Romania, he stated, wants to cooperate actively with all the socialist countries in dealing with the important international problems particularly as far as disarmament is concerned.

The highest Romanian representative concluded by expressing satisfaction with today's talks, stating that the visit by Comrade Milos Jakes will make an important contribution to the development of mutual relations.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu then held a gala luncheon in honor of Comrade Milos Jakes. It was attended by the highest Romanian party and state officials and, on the Czechoslovak side, by the members of Milos Jakes' entourage and both countries' ambassadors.

In the afternoon, Milos Jakes, accompanied by Nicolae Ceausescu, toured the capital, Bucharest. He was briefed about the regulation of the River Dimbovita, and he also

expressed interest in the construction of a new political and administrative center. To the cordial greetings of the citizens of Bucharest, Comrade Jakes also visited the new farming industry shopping center in the center of the city, and toured some of the Metro stations.

Early this evening, he ended his friendly working visit to the Socialist Republic of Romania and flew home.

Concludes Visit, Departs

AU271651 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1632 GMT 27 Apr 88

["Milos Jakes Concludes His Visit to Romania"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 27/04/1988—On Wednesday evening Comrade Milos Jakes, secretary-general of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia, concluded the friendly working visit he paid to Romania at the invitation of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania.

The two party leaders arrived together at the airport.

A military guard presented arms. The national anthems of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and of the Socialist Republic of Romania were played while a 21-gun salute was fired.

Comrades Nicolae Ceausescu and Milos Jakes reviewed the guard of honour.

The distinguished guest bid farewell to the Romanian officials on the airport.

At the foot of the airplane's steps Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu and Comrade Milos Jakes bid a warm farewell. The two party leaders shook hands with friendship, embraced each other. A group of Young Pioneers offered bunches of flowers.

The aircraft took off at 18.15.

Report on Communique

LD272209 Prague CTK in English 2039 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Bucharest April 27 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak and Romanian bodies will be instructed to take measures to increase the share of products made under mutual cooperation and specialization schemes in trade exchanges between the two countries, a joint Czechoslovak-Romanian communique said here today.

The communique summed up the results of one-day talks between Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes and Romanian Communist Party General Secretary and President Nicolae Ceausescu today.

They agreed that the two countries' central bodies for science and technology, together with economic bodies, will step up effort to find new possibilities of bilateral cooperation especially in high technology branches such as microelectronics, electrical engineering, robotics, the power industry and others.

The two representatives agreed that the long-term program of development of economic, scientific and technological cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Romania by the year 2000, signed in December 1985, opens up broad prospects for intensively developing mutual economic relations, cooperation and specialization on a qualitatively higher level. Agreements concluded within the framework of this program are already being implemented in engineering, electronic, electrical engineering and chemical industries and in other spheres of common interest.

Milos Jakes and Nicolae Ceausescu re-affirmed the resolve of their countries to continue striving for the development of many-sided economic, scientific and technological cooperation within the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

They re-iterated their readiness to expand mutually advantageous contacts between CMEA and the European Economic Community.

Milos Jakes told his Romanian partner about the course of action taken by Czechoslovak Communist Party bodies and organizations in implementing the strategy of accelerating socio-economic development. He paid special attention to the implementation of economic reform, comprehensive restructuring of social life, promotion of socialist democracy, improvement of cadre policy and overall work of the party.

Nicolae Ceausescu spoke about activities focused on consistent implementation of the party program of building developed socialist society and Romania's progress towards communism, about measures taken for the intensive development of industry, agriculture and other branches of the national economy.

Milos Jakes and Nicolae Ceausescu exchanged views on topical international questions and stressed the necessity to make progress in the process of disarmament and creating a world without nuclear weapons and violence.

They pointed out that the basic question of the present is to halt the arms race and make a decisive turn towards disarmament, mainly nuclear. In this connection, they appreciated the historic significance of the signing of the

Soviet-U.S. treaty on the liquidation of medium- and shorter-range nuclear missiles which is, however, only the first step which must be followed by new agreements.

Milos Jakes and Nicolae Ceausescu voiced the conviction that a basic measure in the sphere of disarmament would be the signing of a treaty on 50-per cent reduction of strategic offensive weapons between the Soviet Union and the United States, while consistently observing the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty and not allowing disarmament in one sphere to lead to an arms race in other spheres.

They voiced full support for the initiatives to create a zone of confidence, cooperation and good neighbourly relations on the line dividing the Warsaw Treaty and NATO member states, a corridor free of nuclear and chemical weapons in Central Europe as well as the initiative to change the Balkans into a zone of peace and cooperation.

The two sides called for solving military conflicts and all hotbeds of tension in the world only through political means, and expressed solidarity of Czechoslovakia and Romania with the struggle of the nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America in defence of an strengthening of national independence.

Milos Jakes and Nicolae Ceausescu voiced the determination of both parties to consistently strive for the strengthening of cooperation and unity of communist and workers' parties, for their active dialogue on the basis of equality, independence and the right of each party to set independently its political line, revolutionary strategy and tactics in harmony with concrete conditions in which it works.

Czechoslovak Communist Party General Secretary Milos Jakes invited Romanian Communist Party General Secretary and President Nicolae Ceausescu to visit Czechoslovakia. The invitation was accepted.

Dascalescu Cables Strougal on Reappointment

AU280842 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian
26 Apr 88 p 3

[Text] Comrade Constantin Dascalescu, prime minister of the Government of the SR of Romania sent a telegram to Comrade Lubomir Strougal, CSSR premier, on the occasion of his reappointment to this office. It conveyed to Premier Strougal warm greetings and best wishes for good health, happiness, and new success in his activity. Likewise, the telegram expresses the belief that, in the spirit of the decisions and understandings adopted at the summit level, the governments of the two countries will continue to cooperate more actively in the future to ensure the continuous development of the Romanian-Czechoslovak relations of friendship and cooperation.

RCP Sends Message to Luxembourg CP Congress

AU251612 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian
23 Apr 88 p 5

[Message by the RCP Central Committee to the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of Luxembourg]

[Text] To the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of Luxembourg.

On behalf of the RCP and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, we extend warm comradely greetings to the participants in the 25th Congress of the Communist Party of Luxembourg.

The Communists and working people from Romania follow with lively interest the activity of the Communist Party of Luxembourg devoted to defending the basic aspirations of the working people from Luxembourg and fulfilling their strivings for well-being, peace, and socialism.

Expressing the conviction that the relations of friendship and solidarity between the two parties will continue to develop, we wish you, dear comrades, full success in the proceedings of your congress and in the implementation of decisions to be adopted.

The RCP Central Committee.

Ceausescu Cables AKEL Leader on Election

AU280919 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian
26 Apr 88 p 3

[Telegram from RCP Secretary General Nicolae Ceausescu to "Comrade Dimitris Kristofias, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus—AKEL" on his election to office]

[Text] To Comrade Dimitris Kristofias, general secretary of the Central Committee of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus—AKEL, Nicosia:

Your election to the office of general secretary of the Central Committee of the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus—AKEL—gives me the pleasant opportunity to convey to you, on behalf of the RCP and on my own behalf, warm greetings and best wishes for success in this greatly responsible activity.

I express my belief that the traditional relations of friendship, solidarity, esteem, and mutual regard between the RCP and the Progressive Party of the Working People of Cyprus—AKEL—will continue to develop, with a view toward expanding the relations of friendship and cooperation between our countries and people and in the interest of the cause of peace, national independence, and social progress.

Nicolae Ceausescu, RCP secretary general.

Further on Visit of USSR's Vorotnikov

Ends Talks in Serbia

LD271630 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1140 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Apr (TANJUG)—In Belgrade today, final talks were held between Dr Desimir Jevtic, president of the Executive Council of the Serbian Assembly, and Vitaliy Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers of the RSFSR.

During the talks, the results of the meetings that the Soviet delegation had in the course of its 3-day visit to Serbia were summed up. On this occasion, it was again stressed that there are substantial unused potentials for the further development and advancement of cooperation between the two republics in the framework of overall Yugoslav-Soviet relations.

It was emphasized that in the coming period particular attention will be paid to strengthening new forms of economic cooperation, such as joint investments and joint enterprises, in which the economies of both countries have an interest, with the aim of stabilizing the trade balance between the two countries.

At the end of the talks, Dr Desimir Jevtic and Vitaliy Vorotnikov signed a program of cooperation for the SR of Serbia and the RSFSR for the period 1988 to 1990 that specifies the directions for the development of economic, cultural, scientific, and educational relations between the two republics.

The RSFSR delegation this afternoon left for Titograd on an official and friendly visit to Montenegro.

Received by Serbia's Gracanin

LD271702 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1203 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Apr (TANJUG)—Petar Gracanin, president of the Presidency of the SR of Serbia, today received Vitaliy Vorotnikov, chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers and member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, who is visiting Serbia with a delegation of the RSFSR. In long and friendly talks, Vorotnikov and Gracanin assessed that cooperation between the two republics represents a vital element in overall Yugoslav-Soviet relations, which are developing successfully on the basis of jointly established principles and mutual interests in all spheres of economic, political, and social life. These principles were affirmed with the adoption of the joint Yugoslav-Soviet declaration during the recent successful and productive visit by Mikhail Gorbachev to our country. Petar Gracanin stressed in particular that there exist possibilities for bilateral cooperation in many spheres.

Particular attention was paid to issues of economic cooperation, and the president of the Serbian Presidency pointed to the impact of the fall in mutual trade on the economy of a republic which, in the Yugoslav framework, is the greatest exporter to the USSR. A contribution can be made to overcoming trade problems on the national level by the intensification of economic cooperation between the SR of Serbia and the RSFSR, for which new possibilities have lately been appearing.

With the assessment that the good cooperation between the two republics so far can be further advanced in the coming period, Gracanin and Vorotnikov briefly considered and positively assessed the results of cooperation in the spheres of culture, science, education, and information.

Signs Cooperation Documents

LD271654 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1313 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Apr (TANJUG)—Following final talks between the delegation of the RSFSR and the Executive Council of the Serbian Assembly, Vitaliy Vorotonikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers and Desimir Jevtic, president of the Executive Council, today signed a program on the basic directions for cooperation between the two republics for 1988-1990. A protocol was also signed on the results of the prominent Soviet guest's stay in the SR of Serbia.

Speaking to the information media, Vorotnikov stressed that the documents that have just been signed express the coordinated joint positions of both sides on basic issues that were discussed during talks with republican and Yugoslav leaders, which were open and comradely. In these talks, he continued, the desire was expressed that the RSFSR and the Republic of Serbia should develop cooperation within the framework of relations that exist between the USSR and Yugoslavia. During visits to work organizations in Serbia, said Vorotnikov, where we were always received warmly, we spoke about life and work in the USSR and the problems which face the Russian people today during this time of perestroyka, glasnost, and democratization.

Not concealing his satisfaction with the talks were held, which took place in a spirit of friendship and sincerity, Desimir Jevtic stressed that they open up prospects for new and broader cooperation between the two republics in the framework of cooperation between the USSR and Yugoslavia.

Holds Talks in Montenegro

LD271928 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1652 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Titograd, 27 Apr (TANJUG)—Vuko Vukadinovic, president of the Executive Council of the Montenegrin Assembly, and Vitaliy Vorotnikov, chairman of the

RSFSR Council of Ministers and member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, held official talks this afternoon on the further promotion of cooperation between these two republics.

As emphasized in the communique, the two sides noted that friendly cooperation between the SFRY and the USSR has been successfully developing in various spheres. The recent official friendly visit of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, contributed to this.

The communique also points out that a visible contribution to the development of Yugoslav-Soviet relations is provided by cooperation between Montenegro and the RSFSR. Despite increasingly significant results in this the existing possibilities for the development of economic, scientific-technical, and other forms of cooperation should be exploited to an even greater extent, it was also noted.

Vukadinovic and Vorotnikov agreed on the assessment that the two sides could considerably contribute to the balancing of the results of the Yugoslav-Soviet foreign-trade exchange and the promotion of overall economic cooperation between the two countries. Attention was drawn to possibilities offered by the development of direct trade exchange and higher forms of economic cooperation between organizations from Montenegro and ministries and enterprises from the RSFSR. Vukadinovic and Vorotnikov also examined the realization of a series of concrete initiatives for economic cooperation in the spheres of the aluminium industry, the production of building machines, civil engineering, textiles, the leader and furniture industries, and metallurgy.

They agreed to step up the realization of long-term trade arrangements; the setting up of mixed enterprises; the development of cooperation, specialization, and production; scientific-technical cooperation; as well as joint performance on third markets.

The two sides also drew attention to the importance of promoting scientific-technical and especially interuniversity cooperation.

Arms Exports to Nonaligned Countries Examined

LD271022 Belgrade TANJUG in English
0755 GMT 27 Apr 88

[By Miroslav Jojic]

[Text] Belgrade, April 27 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav cooperation with non-aligned countries at the military level is not exhausted by exports of Yugoslav-made arms and military equipment. It also includes joint designing and production of new kinds of weapons and war technology and cooperation in equipping military objects and the military industry.

Yugoslavia also offers to non-aligned countries technical assistance, maintenance services and personnel training.

Yugoslavia annually exports between 1.5 and 2 billion dollars worth of arms, military equipment and engineering. Yugoslav arms exports amount to only one percent of the world's total arms exports but in domestic terms it is equal to Yugoslavia's tourism earnings.

Arms and military equipment exports have a positive effect on the Yugoslav economy not only in terms of foreign currency earnings but also in technological progress which is quickly transferred to civilian production.

In a recent speech, National Defence Secretary Admiral Branko Mamula stressed in particular that in the past ten years 35 percent of the scientific results achieved for the needs of the Yugoslav Peoples' Army (JNA) have been applied in the civilian industry.

The production of arms and military equipment in Yugoslavia is organized within the arms and military industry association (ZINVOJ) which comprises civilian enterprises with military production sections. The efforts of the association, as recently set out in an interview by the association's president Velimir Radivojevic, are geared to further cutting imports for Yugoslav Peoples' Army needs. Currently, only 10 percent of arms and military equipment for the army's needs are imported or produced under licence, while 90 percent are covered by production according to home-projects.

The efforts of Yugoslav exports, engaged in military production, are now geared to self-sufficiency in arms and equipment productions for land forces and rear security, in this anti-armoured and air defence equipment, commanding and communications systems have priority. [sentence as received]

The scientific potential of the Yugoslav Army's institutes and the home economy, according to Velimir Radivojevic, are oriented on research in the field of detonics, optoelectronics and laser technology. Experts are also working on computer technology, particularly microelectronics and micro-processors.

The aim of all these efforts is the modernization of the Yugoslav Armed Forces and exports programs, but also self-sufficiency in the production of arms and military equipment, with complete reliance on domestic raw materials, production and scientific potentials.

The above orientation has been recently confirmed by National Defence Secretary Branko Mamula who said the question of modernizing the country's army is not a matter of free choice but that it has been imposed from outside by the total complexity of the military-political situation and resulting threats to the country's security.

Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar Visits China

For reportage on Foreign Minister Budimir Loncar's arrival in Beijing and coverage of the 4-day visit, see the East Europe section of the 26 April China DAILY REPORT and subsequent issues.

Mojsov Receives Nicaraguan Official

LD280407 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1958 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Belgrade, 27 Apr (TANJUG)—Lazar Mojsov, president of the SFRY Presidency, today received J. Chamorro, deputy vice minister of foreign affairs of Nicaragua, who gave him a personal message from President Daniel Ortega. The message was on the development of the situation in Central America and some questions about further promoting cooperation between Yugoslavia and Nicaragua, which was discussed at length during the meeting. The reception was attended by Trajko Trajkovski, under secretary in the Federal Secretariat for Foreign Affairs, and A. Castellon, Nicaraguan ambassador in Belgrade.

Suvar Replies to DNEVNIK Article

AU280930 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 22 Apr 88 p 4

[TANJUG report on the reply of Stipe Suvar, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, to commentary by Tomislav Marcinko carried in Novi Sad DNEVNIK on 16 April]

[Text] Novi Sad, 20 Apr—Tomislav Marcinko, author of the article carried by DNEVNIK on 16 April, manipulated my thesis on the constitutional position of autonomous provinces within the SR of Serbia. In addition, he did so in such a way as to separate the formulation that "the provinces within the SR of Serbia cannot play their constitutionally approved role as factors in the Federation if they close themselves off within Serbia as well as from Serbia in a statist manner, and if they are cautious about everything that comes from Serbia from the sole angle of protecting their autonomies" from the second part of the sentence in which I explicitly say that "autonomies, of course, cannot be abolished without causing the permanent destabilization of both Serbia and Yugoslavia, and nobody in his right mind would even think of doing so." Besides, he turned that same formulation that "the provinces within Serbia cannot..." into the one that "the provinces will be denied the constitutional right to be constituent elements of the Yugoslav federation...."

Stipe Suvar, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, said this in a reply to a commentary carried by Novi Sad DNEVNIK on the occasion of Suvar's speech at the recent session of the Serbian LC Central Committee. This reply will be published in full in tomorrow's issue of DNEVNIK.

By doing so, Suvar says in his reply, Marcinko has not only taken a sentence out of context and falsified it, a sentence that is part of a lengthy speech I made at the session of the LC Central Committee of Serbia, but has also fully demonstrated the very common thinking that the constitutional position of republics and provinces can be endangered only "from outside" (something I, in the second part of the sentence called an act of the permanent destabilization of both Serbia and Yugoslavia) and not from within.

Unlike DNEVNIK and its journalist Marcinko, Suvar went on to say, I am of the opinion that the constitutional position of every republic and province can be undermined from outside (unitarist and hegemonist pressure) and from within (through striving toward confederacy, a self-interested and self-sufficient republic or province, or a unity of republics and provinces ignoring the Federation, and all this based on statism).

From T. Marcinko's interpretation of my words, one can see his view of the Federation as an arena for the implementation of the rights of each member of the Federation or its constituent elements—which is correct—but not as a field in which all these members have joint responsibility for the whole of the country. Therefore, not only is it the case that every federal unit that closes itself in a statist manner cannot play its constitutional role, but it does not have one at all. It has taken its role from itself and has done so at the expense of the economic, cultural, and political freedom and prosperity of its peoples and nationalities. This can only be realized in socialist Yugoslavia as a community connected with all progressive forces in the world.

Following his own logic of interpreting the federation, Suvar went on to say, journalist Marcinko concluded his article with the following: "Are we going to have a unique system in the world—a federation without federal units?" My answer would be that such a system is possible, be it when rights are withdrawn from outside by force—such a system is then called "centralist-unitarist"—or by sinking off into the situation in which all federal units close themselves into self-willed and self-interested big or small states.

Suvar asks how is it that "by accusing me for allegedly advocating the abolition of republics and provinces, DNEVNIK and its journalist Marcinko ignore the explicit assertions I made in the same speech at the Serbian LC Central Committee session to the effect that the democratic platform that I also support implies a Yugoslavia based on the principles of AVNOJ [Anti-Fascist Council of the National Liberation of Yugoslavia], and based on Tito's concept that solutions cannot be sought in taking power away from republics and transferring it to the federation but in fighting statism at all levels, that the political system can be changed 'only with a view to further developing the self-management of associated workers and advancing national equality based on documents ranging from those of AVNOJ to

the present Constitution,' and that Yugoslavia—either as a socialist or as a democratic bourgeois country—would not be able to survive if it were based on negating our peoples and nationalities and denying their free and joint life and development in freedom and equality. As long as Yugoslavia is as it is now—and we are firmly convinced that it will always exist as the common home of all our peoples and nationalities—and as long as self-management is in power within it, and as long as it is led by the LCY, centralist and unitarist solutions stand no real chance."

Suvar then said that DNEVNIK and its journalist Marcinko could have heard or read in his speech—had they wanted to do so—that frenzied kinds of nationalism in our country now suggest abolition of individual republics and both provinces, as well the retailoring the borders in Yugoslavia in various ways, and that one such dangerous nationalist program was launched by the Serbian Writers Association. "I really admire the inventiveness shown by DNEVNIK and Marcinko: In me they have really found an opponent of national equality and the existence of republics and provinces, and a champion of unitarist solutions," Suvar said.

In conclusion, Suvar said that he is not at all surprised that Marcinko's so-called commentary was immediately carried in full by DELO, BORBA, VJESNIK, and SLOBODNA DALMACIJA, and that the campaign against him (another one of very many, and coming from the same circles) has now again immediately been joined by I. Boarov in DNEVNIK and J. Lovric in DANAS.

Bosnia-Hercegovina Presidency Elects President

LD271645 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1519 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Sarajevo, April 27 (TANJUG)—The Presidency of the Yugoslav Republic of Bosnia-Hercegovina today elected Nikola Filipovic, 62, as its president after the republic's youth organization opposed the re-election of current President Mate Andric on grounds that he "does not enjoy the full confidence of the working people and citizens."

Public criticism and pressure for changes of candidates for the highest posts in the central Yugoslav republic have become more frequent and the members of the republic's League of Communists organization joined in them at their first post-war party conference last week.

The general feeling seems to be that top politicians and businessmen in Bosnia-Hercegovina are the most responsible for the difficult economic situation and the biggest post-war financial scandal involving the issuance of 900-million-dollars' worth of unbacked promissory notes (in the national currency) by the agro-industrial firm Agrokomerc of Velika Kladusa.

Nikola Filipovic, PHD, is a professor at the Sarajevo University School of Philosophy. He has been a member of the republican presidency since March this year, when two of its members had to resign over involvement in the Agrokomerc scandal.

Each of Yugoslavia's six republics and two Autonomous Provinces has its own "state" presidency.

Bosnian LC Conference Views Economic Reality

AU211953 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 16 Apr 88 pp 7, 8

[M. Caric and R. Petrovic report: "We Must Swallow Many Bitter Truths"]

[Text] Sarajevo, 15 Apr—A radical turnabout cannot be made in the old, worn-out way, nor can the limits be set on what extent we can go to in achieving this aim. This aim cannot be achieved without pain. This process is painful and cannot be achieved behind conference tables or in offices. Any other way of thinking is a bureaucratic lullaby that gives an illusion of crisis management and suggests that a way out of the crisis is to go back to some idyllic time rather than to make a leap forward into a new period.

These words by Milan Skoro, member of the Bosnian LC Central Committee Presidium, who is acting for the absent Milan Uzelac, were made yesterday at the beginning of a 2-day Bosnian LC Conference in Sarajevo. These words best illustrate the great expectations and demands of the republican party membership of this conference, as well as the obligation of the delegates to apply them in practice as specifically and effectively as possible. Judging from the number of messages from about 12,000 Bosnian basic LC organizations and by what Skoro said in his 50-page speech, people primarily expect action in helping the economy, in consistently continuing differentiation—particularly since the Agrokomerc affair—in undertaking necessary cadre moves, and in broadening the democratization of society and the LC.

Talking About Things That Have Been Ignored for Years [subhead]

Pointing out that this kind of choice cannot go on without "swallowing" many bitter truths about ourselves, our work, ability and inability, actions and our own illusions, and future sacrifices, the opening speaker mentioned Agrokomerc as one of the bitter pills and remarked that "this serious political, economic, and moral monstrosity showed not only the extent of unconstitutional and unlawful malversations and machinations, but also the extent to which the organized and ill-intended system of non-constitutional decisionmaking has spread."

Milan Skoro devoted most of his speech to the unenviable economic situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina. He stressed that this was also the central topic after the party congresses "but that the results were not satisfactory." The reasons for this lie primarily in the exceptionally complex economic problems, which cannot be solved overnight because there is no unity in the country on issues of joint concern and because the LC itself is gradually experiencing a crisis in its activities. At the same time, Skoro pointed out that we are "almost paralyzed with the fear of a social tremor because this would lead to compromises and half-measures that do not promise and guarantee results." This is why it was suggested that the LC members in competent institutions should immediately assume the obligation to propose appropriate measures in a comprehensive and professional way so that the situation may change more rapidly.

Commenting on the need for changes in the LC, Skoro said:

"We here, the LC, and society do not need to have unity achieved at this conference in order to formulate what we write and propose to the Central Committee. Our conclusions must be judged by what we implement. It is important that we decide on what can be realistically achieved up to the next Bosnian LC congress, to carry it out, and that responsibility for this is borne by the basic LC organization all the way up to the Central Committee." He also warned that we are at a crossroads, but that we must not agree to rushed decisions, improvisation, and work performed with highly charged emotions.

Opposing All Those Who Disturb Socialist Relations [subhead]

In order to achieve all this, he said, we must oppose all those who do not respect or aspire to disturb socialist relations, violate moral norms, and who act from an illegal decisionmaking platform. In this way, they express their mistrust in the system's institutions and change the people in them into instruments of their own will and power.

As far as the forthcoming constitutional changes are concerned, Skoro emphasized the need for the greatest possible unity in the country and elimination of dogmatic prejudices. He also stressed the need to come out of the "shell of narcissism and false security."

The creation of unity from above is unacceptable under the new conditions, but we must not abandon the need for any form of unity in the country and the LCY on the basis of one's pathological fear from unitarianism, centralism, or monolithic unity either. Our attitudes toward unity as something that can be both useful as well as harmful or that could depend on the goodwill of both individuals and forums clearly show the kind of danger we are facing, Skoro said. He called for the open discussions that have been avoided for a long time, for changes in relations, as well as the people who blindly and foolishly defend the positions that suit our time and the interest of the workers class least.

Citing the demands of the widest membership expressed in the discussions preceding the conference and which refer to cadre renewal, the opening speaker stressed that the way out of the present crisis is sought through a "braver refreshing, renewal, and rejuvenation of the cadre structure. The emphasis is on knowledge, expertise, competence, dynamism, and the ability to offer solutions."

The discussion demonstrated the wish of the party members for direct elections, democratic and public prenomination and nomination procedures, more candidates in election procedure and during the election itself, and secret voting as a method of democratic decisionmaking. These views were emphasized during the discussion so much that nobody has the right to question or modify them.

In accordance with this, Skoro suggested that during the adoption of the conference conclusions particular emphasis should be placed on the conclusions that refer to the cadre policy in order to create condition for a synchronized political action in this sphere.

[The following two sections appears boxed within the body of the report on the introductory speech]

Unity Is Not Slogan [subhead]

We are strong to the extent that we pull together. We are weak to exactly the extent that we imagined that we were strong individually and that we are self-sufficient. Unity must be achieved on principled and clearly defined class positions. This is not some kind of a unitarian-centralist slogan, but is the condition for existing in the LC, and is the greatest guarantee for brotherhood and unity, equality among the peoples and nationalities, and the existence of Tito's Yugoslavia, Skoro said.

Nationalists' Illusions [subhead]

Expressing the need for the Yugoslav Communists' uncompromized fight against nationalism and separatism, Skoro said:

"We have entered the period in which we must carry out a thorough social transformation, and all those who think that the time has come for the realization of "silent" nationalist, separatist, bourgeois-restorational, and dogmatic-bureaucratic counterrevolution are under great illusion and fallacy.

Discussion: Yugoslavia Is Being Divided By Political Leaderships in the Name of the Workers Class [subhead]

How sore a point the cadre policy is was illustrated by Sena Salkanovic from Olovo. Concentrating on the problem of electing candidates in the work organizations' basic LC organizations, she proposed the following:

"In order that the most able candidates receive workers support, we must introduce advertising for vacant positions and the basic condition should be a program offered by a candidate. The term of office should not last 4 years, but only as long as the adopted program operates successfully. In many ways this proposal solves the problem of the leading cadre's responsibilities in general, and should not be understood as a wish for managership [menadzerstvo]," said Salkanovic, concluding that it is high time for the LC to make its final decision on this and not to repeat the same conclusions two or three times.

According to her, there are several problems that should be solved immediately. Among there she mentioned the need for checking the origin of property, saying "if you have a house, return your apartment," and in this way show the solidarity of all of us, starting with officials and so on. The serious situation in Velika Kladusa caused by the Agrokomerc affair prompted the Communists to complete and consistent differentiation in all institutions that were in any way involved in this criminal act.

Zarko Petrovic said that the main reason for the crisis is the bad current cadre policy that is privatized at all levels and involves only a narrow band of people. On behalf of Velika Kladusa Communists, he proposed that all documents, particularly social agreements, that regulate cadre policy be rescinded, that the cadre policy be conducted publicly, that it contain clear criteria.

Ahmed Kalem, a worker from the Sarajevo commune of Hadzici, who spoke without being afraid of criticizing top republican officials, received the greatest applause in the morning session. He immediately inquired into who was responsible for the serious economic situation, and did not agree with the usual phrase that says we are all responsible.

Kalem was also of the opinion that the workers class in Yugoslavia was much more united than Yugoslav leaders thought. According to Kalem, the complete opposite is happening: "Yugoslavia is being divided by the political leaders in the name of the workers class." This is why he proposed that an extraordinary Bosnian LC congress be held by the end of this year. He wanted to start an initiative for holding an extraordinary LCY congress.

Kalem warned against the grass-roots indignation regarding the end of the process of differentiation among the top republican officials, and mentioned the cases of Savo Cecur, president of the Bosnian Assembly, and Edina Residovic, president of the Republican Conference of the Bosnian SAWP, who was the secretary of the same sociopolitical organization at the time the Agrokomerc affair broke. In that context, Kalem spoke about the "unprecedented system of consultations and pressures on assembly delegates means Savo Cecur remains president of the highest delegates' body." As far as Edina Residovic is concerned, Ahmed Kalem was convinced that the SAWP lost the people's trust by her election. His criticism of these officials did not stop. He also inquired into the specific responsibilities of the Republican Presidency members and the members of the Bosnian LC Central Committee Presidium who were not "touched," but knew about the Velika Kladusa swindles. Kalem also spoke about recent "treacherous attacks" on assembly delegate Novka Suko who was issued a party punishment for her public speech. Jerko Bradvica, member of the Bosnian LC Central Committee Presidium, requested her punishment. This is something all republican assembly delegates who did not leave Novka Suko "holding the bag" will be informed about.

The Hadzici delegate called for complete reconstruction of the Bosnian LC Central Committee Presidium, particularly those members who compromised themselves in some way. At the end he said that the same thing that happened to Novka Suko or well-known Ante Simic from Zenica could happen to him. But it is different now, and Kalem thinks that nobody can play with other people's fate any longer.

Remarking that all the words have already been used up, Franc Setinc greeted the conference delegates on behalf of the LCY Central Committee Presidium and said:

We can only improve the political mood of the people through the results of our action and more effective changes in the existing situation. Those who do not strive toward this could be regarded as the rejects of our political work.

Suggesting that all our conferences should have the slogan "This is not the time for complaining but for action," Setinc stressed the need for a proper evaluation of what burdens the party action as the most important task. In this context, he invited all creative forces to participate in this "because our elections are not based on the party cards and posts, but according to readiness to find new solutions." We need to be specific about problems without being pragmatic, and be convincing in thoughts without empty phrases. This is what the critical public requires from the LC when it speaks about itself and our society in the contemporary world, Setinc said. He was referring at the same time to the SAWP, which has become a "distorted picture of the party."

The first conference of the Bosnian LC Central Committee continues its work this afternoon.

[The following sections appear boxed within the report on the discussion at the Bosnian LC Conference]

What Does the Leadership Owe to Sagolj [subhead]

The LC members have not been in the position nor have they been given the opportunity to learn what income

from membership fees is spent on. How is it possible that some of these funds are used for the purchase of an apartment for Smiljko Sagolj from the Bosnian LC Central Committee's department for finances? In what way are some members of the Bosnian LC Central Committee indebted to him?—Ahmed Kalem, a worker from the Hadzici Technical Service Workshop, asked.

He suggested that at the next session the Central Committee present a detailed explanation on the expenditure of party funds.

People Suffer as If They Were Responsible for the Present Situation Itself [subhead]

I agree that the workers class wish for and aspire to unity in Yugoslavia and in the LC. However, considering that each republican and provincial LC has its own special views and attitudes toward the LC, a unified party of the workers class does not and cannot exist. These are only wishes, Risto Kuzmanovic from Banja Luka said. Our leaders must know that the people and Communists are not satisfied with this way of resolving this crisis situation and with leaders' responsibility. The LCY Central Committee Presidium, the FEC, the SFRY Assembly, and the Trade Union Organization, as the most responsible organizations, did not deal with the Agrokomerc case seriously enough. This is unacceptable. Agrokomerc was not treated as a serious Yugoslav problem, but it is and will remain serious in the future.

Many cadres that had led us into this crisis are still present in our top leaderships, but the Central Committee is silent, Kuzmanovic continued. One should think very seriously about the workers' patience. Thousands of workers from the Cazin region are without a job and the economic situation in the whole republic is serious. This is due mainly to Agrokomerc, while the Central Committee has stopped the process of differentiation. I ask, how can the LCY be a workers class party, and what motives are offered to the workers to remain or become members of the LCY? All the crises in our society have made us stronger and more united and made the LCY more mass-like and monolithic. This crisis, which was basically created by our leadership, has resulted in membership figures dropping, particularly the number of workers, direct producers, and those who have spent their working life in the LC.

There is no responsible LCY Central Committee member or state representative who could address the people at a meeting and explain the real reasons for the crisis and present basic views on how to overcome it to invite the people to jointly solve the problems. The people are ready to do so, but the leadership has alienated itself from the people and society and the people suffer as if they were responsible for the present situation. So that it will not offend anybody, our leadership waits for the people and the LCY members to discover and point out the culprits, Kuzmanovic said. He proposed that the following should be entered in the conclusions of the conference: That the differentiation that the Central Committee of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina has stopped should be resumed and that this general request by the Communists of this republic should be fulfilled with dignity. Furthermore, the Communists thus named should be dismissed from their posts. People of strong character, professionally tested, who offer a program for the way out of the crisis, should be elected in their place. In addition, Kuzmanovic proposed that in future, the president and the entire Presidium of the Central Committee of the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina should be elected by the congress, and the practice of the 1-year terms of office should be examined, considering that the experience so far has been poor.

Applause for the YPA [subhead]

We resolutely reject all the attacks on the YPA, which has been and remains the armed detachment of our revolution that has never failed nor degraded its role in the system, particularly the role that the YPA has had as a nursery and stronghold of brotherhood and unity and of the development of all the achievements of our revolution. We consider these attacks as attacks on the integrity of the country. We must openly say from this place that these attacks are not acts of rascals but a part of the implementation of the special war strategy conducted against our country. We cannot close our eyes to such attacks. We must respond to them in the way they deserve, Skoro said.

These words were followed by spontaneous and prolonged applause from the conference delegates present.

Second Day of Conference

AU261249 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 18 Apr 88 p 4

[Report on the second day of the Bosnian LC Conference held in Sarajevo on 16 April: "Differentiation Will Continue"]

[Text] Sarajevo, 17 Apr—The first conference of the Bosnian LC ended its 2 days of work late Saturday night by adopting the working version of the stands and proposals that will be sent to the Bosnian LC Central Committee.

Judging by the number of rank and file delegates and their critical assessments on the situation in the republic, country, and leaderships, the general impression is that the conference was an exceptional political event last week.

Since our paper is not published on Sundays, we are today publishing excerpts from the most interesting speeches and the discussion on the stands, which it was decided a working group will subsequently put into final form.

Grass Roots Demands: "Utopian To Wait for Resignations" [subhead]

The general view expressed in the discussion on the theses was that the LCY has lost its role as vanguard of the workers class because it has not been the party of the workers for some time. It has been a party of forums and individuals who make decisions on all the essential aspects of political, economic, and self-managing life and work. Accordingly, it was frivolous and incorrect, to say the least, for the Bosnian LC Central Committee—despite receiving the appraisals and support of the party grass roots regarding its conclusions and views, as put in a new political jargon—to offer general conclusions about the situation from which one could not determine which events and individuals had inflicted serious damage to the Bosnian LC and the LCY as a whole.

I mention these conclusions deliberately as a reminder to the members of the Bosnian LC Central Committee who have alienated themselves, to a great extent, from the people and the members they are supposed to represent. If disturbances in self-management and economic mistakes occur in organizations of associated labor, the basic LC organizations should, according to the statute, suffer serious consequences, ranging from the dissolution of the organization to every single member being called to account. The extent to which the party forums and organs have alienated themselves from the grass roots, which constitute the bulk of the membership, is best illustrated by the fact that the statutory norms of the Bosnian LC Central Committee do not apply to the majority of the officials, or some of them, or you comrades who are present here, despite the fact that by your conduct you have contributed to the economic situation in the republic becoming very serious, if not catastrophic.

For the above-mentioned reasons and on the basis of my impressions of this conference, I think that it would be utopian to expect some individuals in the LC, particularly in the LC Presidium—having deviated from the LC program and statutory form of behavior, and having built various monuments to their own immorality and power—to tender their resignations and admit their fault. Whatever some of you may think about some delegates' speeches, I believe that the party membership will survive the struggle to regain trust in the LCY and its role as vanguard of the workers class, and that it will not allow those who conduct anticommunist campaigns to win arguments for their battles every day.

I propose that the following be included in the conclusion: The Conference proposes to the Bosnian LC Central Committee, or to those of its members who have not compromised themselves, to establish the individual and collective responsibility of those members of the Central Committee and the Communal LC Committees who have sullied the reputation of the LC and the image of an LC member by either being directly involved in, having approved, or having displayed a passive attitude to certain problems, particularly with regard to some affairs such as—let me remind you that these should be put in the conclusions—the Agrokomerc affair, the differentiation in respect of the degrees of responsibility for the Aluminum Combine, responsibility for the so-called "Villa Carrington" to which membership fees were diverted, the Zenica steel works, and the villas in Neum, because it will be difficult to explain all this to the members, no matter how it is presented in the report. Furthermore, there is the question of responsibility for the green plan loans, which were partly given in foreign currency and will have to be repaid in foreign currency, obtained by some individuals on the basis of their position; and for raising some commercial loans under favorable terms that were not available to ordinary mortals even for house building.

As regards the realization of the tasks in the sense of starting them up and supervising them, I propose that the Central Committee put specific individuals in charge of this difficult and responsible task. I also propose that the general membership of the Bosnian LC Central Committee be informed about the deadline for activities that have been undertaken or started and that this deadline is 2 months.

I would like to conclude my speech with this and greet my comrade delegates and ask them not to succumb to the influence of the atmosphere that it is my impression has been created that all we are doing is talking, and talking nonsense. Believe me, we are not talking nonsense and things have to be discussed. (Mira Gajic)

I am not going to say anything else about Savo Cecur. We have not gathered here to spend all our time on him. But if I were in his position, if I were telling the Assembly delegates that I would not repeat my mistakes, as a pupil tells his teacher, then I would quit the job on Monday and retire or find another job. [Bego Begic]

I think that this conference will be successful. At least honest workers will be satisfied if tomorrow, after this conference, they do not have to fight for their very survival with strikes, without at the same time having to experience what has in fact been happening, namely that these very powerful people call militiamen to force them to work with clubs. What kind of history are we in fact making? (Dervo Aljovic)

Halted Differentiation: "Room For Painless Solutions" [subhead]

We demand the consistent implementation of the conclusions adopted at the Ninth and Tenth Bosnian LC Central Committee Plenums. This is because we have not, in fact, solved a single aspect of the Agrokomerc affair, which broke out 1 year ago. Are the energetic actions and consistent differentiation lacking because we did not have enough courage, strength, and willingness to come up with correct ideopolitical assessments and qualifications for the actors in the affair? Second, was

the foot-dragging supposed to create room for a painless and more suitable outcome for the culprits of the Agrokomerc affair. A number of people previously criticized at the republican level and familiar with the situation in Agrokomerc and the circumstances in which the larceny that resulted in the affair was tolerated and supported must leave the political scene at once. I want the comrades who were named recently and have been mentioned today to know that we would all be much happier and more satisfied if we could talk about their conduct in a positive sense. Why are things not like that? They themselves are responsible for this. They abused our trust. This is why they should have known and showed that we did not force them to do it and that, had they been real Communists, they would have known when and how to leave the political scene, particularly when this is in the interests of society. This is why the LC members in my communal organization are irritated when the oaths in the assembly are being sworn to the man who has been persistently asked to assume responsibility. (Zivko Sukalo)

The names of some people connected with the Agrokomerc affair were mentioned here yesterday and today. Among these, the name of the president of the highest organ of power and self-management of Bosnia-Hercegovina was also mentioned.

My impression is that the question that the Assembly discussed and adopted conclusions on will probably have to be returned to the Assembly because of the conclusions and the operational program that the Presidium and the Central Committee are going to formulate. It is obvious that the Assembly will have to discuss this matter again. Whether or not, in our discussions on responsibilities, we should raise the question of responsibility of the delegates of the Sociopolitical Chamber, above all the delegation of the Bosnian LC Central Committee and of other sociopolitical organizations, is for me a dilemma that we must and should resolve here. (Slobodan Popovic)

The Communists of the Cazin commune are of the opinion that the consequences of the Agrokomerc affair and the liquidation of the Bihac Basic Bank are being dealt with in an unjustifiably slow way. The fate of the funds belonging to the Bihac Basic Bank has not been resolved yet. Then one should not really be surprised if it was concluded that the people and the members are losing confidence in the LC, in its leading ideopolitical role, and that this is creating more room for the activity of other forces. (Ibrahim Topic)

I think that there is still some time, that the comrade who were criticized will have enough decency to express their thanks at this conference for the confidence expressed up to now, but that they will also try to explain how all this was possible, why they were criticized, so that we can return to our basic organizations with answers. (Tomo Knezevic)

I suggest that the Central Committee completes differentiation concerning the Communists criticized during last year and this year by this summer at latest. (Borp Bjelobrk)

Getting Rich Without Work: "End to Neum" [subhead]

As a delegate of this conference, I would really like to go back to my base with complete information about the Neum case. I would like a clear statement on who, how, and what was built. (Zoran Josic)

I propose that an end be put to the Neum case and the so-called "Dynasty" villas that have recently been a topic of conversation everywhere, in Sarajevo and throughout not only Bosnia-Hercegovina, but also Yugoslavia, along the Adriatic coast and in the mountainous area. I think that a two- or three-bedroom apartment is sufficient even for the most senior and honest members of the LC, and here we are dealing with thieves who have been stealing and robbing. (Ankica Mikac)

From time to time it is objected that there is much illegal building going on here, that the land on our coast is being usurped, that the taxation policy is incorrect, that the infrastructure has been built for the benefit of holiday homes, in brief, that many illegal things are being done. We are aware of the fact that in every stage of development it is possible to make mistakes. However, because the plan regulations have been observed, we cannot accept these views and the spreading of rumors, the creation of disunity, deviation from the present course of political, social, and economic development, and allegations that we are only concerned with ourselves. Some newspapers have compared Neum with a holiday housing complex, which is not the case. The development of Neum and its extensions on 20 km of urbanistically planned but untouched coast is yet to come. We appreciate that this coast is Bosnia's treasure and are thus surprised by these attacks that blunt our sharpness and weaken the enthusiasm of young people. (Djuro Obradovic)

From Milan Skoro's Concluding Speech: "Cadre Changes—Lasting Act" [subhead]

Everything that we have done, all our work, and the brainwork that we have invested will only make sense with and will be judged by the results we achieve. They will affirm the LC as the leading ideological and political force in society and the vanguard of the workers class, Skoro stressed, among other things in closing the 2-day conference.

The discussion at the conference was mainly conducted on those lines. It was clearly demonstrated that neither the preparations for the conference nor the conference itself were understood or took place in the way the LC

traditionally works. This was obviously nobody's intention, and it is quite clear that even if some people wanted to, the conference would not accept that its role and place be degraded in such a way.

There is no doubt, Skoro pointed out, that one of the crucial questions is that we have to carry out cadre changes. We must conceive, implement, and realize the cadre policy and moral renewal of the LC in a different way. Connected with this is the call for a consistent, faster, and more effective differentiation, not as an act that is to complete the renewal, but as something that would continue not only in one organ irrespective of whether this is the top organ or not. Differentiation should be ensured in relation to certain things and in relation to responsibilities for the work done on those tasks which indicate how much every Communist, as a Communist, is better than other people where he lives and works. He is not better than the others because he is a member of the LC; he is a member of the LC because he is better than the others. He should prove himself, and we should understand differentiation as a permanent process, Skoro said at the end of his speech.

Macedonian Presidency Elects President

LD281227 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1050 GMT 28 Apr 88

[Summary] Skopje, 28 Apr (TANJUG)—At its session today the Presidency of the SR of Macedonia elected Jezdimir Bogdanski to be its new president. Bogdanski was born in 1930 and has occupied a number of top and responsible offices in both the republic and the federation.

Macedonian LC Conference Ends

LD280408 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1656 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Excerpt] Skopje, 27 Apr (TANJUG)—The debate at the Macedonian LC Conference was very responsible, critical, and constructive. This is required by the severity of the socioeconomic situation in Macedonia and Yugoslavia, Mihail Danev, secretary of the Macedonian LC CC Presidium, stressed, concluding the 2-day conference. Messages from the conference, with a strong working and class content, represent a strong impulse for Communists, all those working on the realization of tasks, on overcoming the social crisis, and on more dynamic socioeconomic development. [passage omitted]

Montenegro LC Reelects President, Secretary

LD271835 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1640 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] Titograd, 27 Apr (TANJUG)—Today the Montenegro LC Central Committee Presidium took a secret vote and in accordance with statutory regulations reelected Dr Miljan Radovic president and Savo Sekaric secretary of this Republic's LC Central Committee Presidium for the next 2-year period.

The initiative that Radovic and Sekaric should have their mandate extended was endorsed in all municipal committees, as well as today's session of the Montenegro LC Central Committee.

Kosovo LC Elects New Officials

LD271743 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1246 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Summary] Pristina, 27 Apr (TANJUG)—At its session today, the Provincial Committee of the Kosovo LC considered a proposal of theses for the coming conference of the Kosovo LC, which will concentrate on the issue of implementing the policy of national equality and development of intranational relations. An introductory report was submitted by Azem Vlasi, who said that to stabilize intranational relations, enhance brotherhood and unity, and halt the emigration of Serbs and Montenegrins is one of the most important tasks facing the Kosovo LC in its efforts to normalize the situation in this part of the country.

"In the second part of the session, members of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee endorsed a proposal to elect Kacusa Jasari president of the Presidium of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, and Vojislav Zajic as secretary of the Presidium. At the same time, support was given to the proposal to nominate Azem Vlasi as member of the LCY Central Committee to replace Hasim Redzepi, who is nominated for a post in the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee. The Provincial Committee released Ramadan Cehaja as a committee member. Cehaja has been transferred with his army job outside Kosovo.

"During the interval, members of the Presidium of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee unanimously elected Kacusa Jasari as the new president of the Provincial Committee of the Kosovo LC, and Vojislav Zajic was reelected as the Presidium Secretary. This proposal, it was explained, received support in all municipal LC organizations in Kosovo, organs of the LCY Central Committee, and the Serbian LC Central Committee. In electing these two to the most responsible functions in the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee, the Presidium was guided by Kacusa Jasari's and Vojislav Zaric's overall involvement in and contribution to efforts to implement LC policy."

Trade Union Discusses Unfreezing of Prices

AU271736 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1300 GMT 27 Apr 88

[Text] The interest of many people, especially ordinary people, is focused on the forthcoming report concerning 15 May, the day prices are to be unfrozen. Yugoslav trade unions will not accept any measures that offer stagnation, but those that guarantee the material and social security of working people and motivate reliable producers. This was the essence of the discussion that

took place at today's session of the Yugoslav Trade Unions Federation Council Presidium devoted to FEC economic policy measures after 15 May.

Here is a report from Aleksandar Ljubicic:

It was said that the proposed FEC measures are inadequate for the realization of the so-called target inflation rate of 95 percent. This was explained with the fact that the rate of inflation in the first 3 months of this year was 154.8 percent in relation to the same period last year, even though all prices were frozen in November. With regard to this, the question was asked why the FEC is proposing a more limited increase in incomes than is possible according to the agreement with the IMF? Janez Zemljaric, FEC vice president, was categorical:

[Begin Zemljaric recording] Let us now clear things up. What do we want? We in this country have been pledging allegiance to the long-term program for economic stabilization so frequently, but look where we have gotten with the funds earmarked for public and communal spending in the long-term program. When we formulated it, we were around 32 percent, then we were at 30 and now we already have 34 percent of national income going to these purposes.

After many calculations, we noted, in the long-term program, that this country can no longer endure such a situation. At this moment we are not asking for anything other than to move onto this 30 percent of national income for these purposes in this 3-year period. [end Zemljaric recording]

If this disharmony in supply and demand only depended on personal incomes then it would be alleviated quickly. However, salaries make up only 48 percent of the population's total income and permanently freezing them would have a disastrous effect.

TU President Says Workers Insist on Changes

LD262233 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1945 GMT 26 Apr 88

[Text] Belgrade, April 26 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav workers insist on such changes in socio-economic relations, as would leave a larger share of newly created value to material production, said president of the Trade Union Confederation of Yugoslavia Zvonimir Hrabar in an interview carried by TANJUG today.

Summing up a trade union debate on forthcoming changes in the Yugoslav Constitution, Hrabar recalled that only half the newly created value currently remains in enterprises while the remainder is used for financing the social superstructure.

"Whether we admit it or not, national interest' has prevailed over the class one," said Hrabar. He warned, however, that the workers do not agree with this.

Asked about strikes, which have become a frequent phenomenon in Yugoslavia and whose legalization has been demanded for months, Hrabar replied that the trade unions' stand on this matter has (?evolved) lately.

"For a long time, we stubbornly asked ourselves: Against whom to strike when the working class is in power. Now, when they (the strikes) have came [as received] our reality, we must no longer close our eyes," he said.

Hrabar added that the unions had already proposed amendments to the law regulating labour relations.